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Editorial

The Swiss Brethren and their modern descendants in Switzerland and South Germany never produced a formal confession of faith. In 1659 some of their churches in Alsace signed the Dutch Mennonite Dordrecht Confession of 1632, and in 1725 the newly founded colony in Pennsylvania adopted the same confession as their own, but the Swiss Anabaptist-Mennonite movement as such produced no creeds. The Dutch Mennonite movement on the contrary produced numerous formal creeds.

One may speculate as to the meaning of this without being certain of the explanation. It cannot be that the Swiss were uninterested in doctrine, or that they were afraid to publish their faith abroad. Pilgram Marpeck's great doctrinal works of 1540-45 prove the contrary. It may be that because of early and devastating persecution the Swiss group was never able to acquire that solidarity, cohesion, and sense of organizational strength which is the necessary foundation for creedal expression, although there were important elders' conferences at Strasburg in 1555 and 1557. It may also be that the Swiss group, after the first generation, never had the necessary advanced intellectual leadership for creedal formulation.

The Swiss Brethren did, however, address themselves to practical church needs, and did early (1527) formulate a clear statement on urgent issues. This statement, called the Schleitheim Confession, is now published for the first time in an accurate English translation direct from the original German print. John C. Wenger adds to his translation a valuable introduction.

Scant attention has been paid thus far to the cultural aspects of Mennonite history, particularly in America. Theological, ethical, ecclesiastical, and settlement history have been the major concerns of historians. The recent awakening of interest in other aspects of Mennonite life is opening up new fields for research and publication. Inasmuch as the Mennonites of America have been almost exclusively a rural people, Mennonite agricultural history is bound to be prominent among these new fields.

The Review is happy to present in this issue its first article dealing with Mennonite agriculture. It is fitting that this should be a discussion of the oldest Mennonite settlement in America, that of colonial Eastern Pennsylvania. Ira D. Landis, the author, is himself a sturdy representative of this settlement, a graduate in agriculture of Pennsylvania State College, a successful farmer still farming ancestral acres, and an ordained Mennonite minister of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference. His interest and productivity in Mennonite historical research make him an exceptional modern American Mennonite, a farmer-preacher-historian. He gives us a valuable collection of extracts largely from early travellers and observers, pointing out the virtues and excellencies of the Mennonite agriculture of colonial Lancaster County, the first intensive agriculture in America.

Ira Landis' historical observations suggest a number of fruitful research opportunities in tracing Lancaster Mennonite achievements to the agricultural methods and practices of our European ancestry. Dr. Ernst Correll, Professor of Economic History in the American University, Washington D. C., established a series of examples on the origin and development of Amish and Mennonite economies in his basic book, *Das Schweizerische Taüfer-Mennonitentum* (Tübingen, 1925), particularly in the sections "Ausbreitung und ökonomisch-sozialer Charakter" and "Die Mennonitische Musterwirtschaft."

The American public is becoming increasingly aware of the Amish in their midst. Agricultural economists and sociologists of note are studying their economy and communities; writers are beginning to use Amish themes in fiction; and in some sections Amish costume dolls are making their appearance. The Review has called attention to recent interpretative publications such as those of Bachman and Kollmorgen in its book review section. In this issue it presents literary articles by Elizabeth Bender and Mary Royer which discuss the Amish theme in American fiction both for adults and children.

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THE SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION OF FAITH

JOHN C. WENGER

The Swiss Brethren never had opportunity to write extensively of their faith. Even their founder, Conrad Grebel (d. 1526), apart from his letters, left practically no writings. Indeed, almost nothing has been preserved for the first decade of the movement, 1525 to 1535. One of the few exceptions is the *Brüderlich vereynigung etzlicher Kinder Gottes, sieben Artickel betreffend*, or *Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God Concerning Seven Articles*, a brief confession of faith incorporated in an unsigned pastoral letter. The confession was adopted at a Swiss Brethren conference held on Saint Matthew's Day, 1527. Almost immediately the confession was circulated widely among the Brethren.[1] In April, 1527, Berchtold Haller sent Ulrich Zwingli a copy of the *Seven Articles*, which he regarded as the confession of faith of the Bernese Anabaptists. That summer Zwingli attempted a refutation of the confession in part two of his *Elenchus*. Some years later John Calvin used a printed French form of the confession, which is no longer extant, in writing against Anabaptism in his *Brieve Instruction pour armer tous bons fideles contre les Erreurs de la secte commune des Anabaptistes*, 1544.[2]

1 Zwingli asserted in his *Elenchus*, written during the summer of 1527, that there was scarcely an Anabaptist who did not possess a copy of their "so well grounded commandments." (!)

2 *A Brief Instruction to Equip all the Good Saints against the Errors of the Communistic Sect of the Anabaptists.*

The German original of the Seven Articles was in print as early as 1533.[3] The 1533 print consisted of the following four items: (1) The pastoral letter of which the Seven Articles are a part; (2) A Farewell Letter to the Congregation at Horb,[4] written by Brother Michel Sattler of Stauffen[5]; (3) An account of Sattler's trial and martyrdom, May 21, 1527;[6] (4) A small treatise on Divorce from the Words of Christ. At the end of the treatise on Divorce is printed: "Bro. M. L., 1533." The letters, M. L., are undoubtedly the initials of the author and 1533 is the year of publication of the booklet. Samuel Cramer concluded that "M. L." was a mistake for "M. S." and that the author was Michael Sattler. This is actually a logical deduction in view of the fact that Michael Sattler, as will be shown below, was the author of the Seven Articles, but final proof is lacking. Sattler would thus be the author of items 1, 2 and 4 in the 1533 print; item 3 is an account of his trial, testimony and martyrdom. This latter had appeared in print[7] in 1527 with the title: *Ayn newes wunderbarlichs geschicht von Michel Sattler. . . .* Two copies of the German booklet containing the four Sattler items are known. One is found in the State Library at Berlin; the other is privately owned. Walther Köhler reprinted the booklet in 1908 as *Heft* 3 of *Band* 2 of *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation,* together with a splendid introduction.

There was another (undated) Sattler book printed which contained three of the four items described above, omitting the treatise on divorce. There are slight differences in spelling and text between the two booklets. Two copies of this three-item Sattler booklet are preserved in the State Library at Munich.[8]

A third form of the Sattler items is found in a small *Sammelband* in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.[9] This volume contains, along with other Swiss Brethren items: (1)

[3] The title is reproduced, and the booklet described, in Walther Köhler: *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation,* 2. Band, 3. Heft, (Leipzig, 1908) 299f.

[4] Horb is a city in Württemberg, South Germany, located on the Neckar river above Stuttgart. In Sattler's time Horb was in Austrian territory. Cf. *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, 346-348.

[5] Stauffen is a city in the district of Breisgau, Southern Baden. When Sattler wrote this farewell letter, however, he was imprisoned at Biusdorf whither he had been taken from Horb. For an English edition of this letter see T. J. van Braght: *Martyr's Mirror,* (Scottdale, 1938) 418-420.

[6] Cf. *Martyr's Mirror,* 1938, 416-418.

[7] Köhler, *op. cit.* 301.

[8] Köhler: *ibid.,* 300; Heinrich Böhmer: *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges und der Wiedertäufer,* Bonn, 1910, II Edition, 1921; reprint, Berlin, 1933, 25-27.

[9] Cf. Robert Friedmann: "The Schleitheim Confession (1527) and Other Doctrinal Writings of the Swiss Brethren in a Hitherto Unknown Edition," *M.Q.R.,* XVI (April, 1942), 82-98. On pp. 86f. are listed all known Mss and prints of the Schleitheim Confession.

The Pastoral Letter containing the Seven Articles; (2) Sattler's Farewell Letter to the Congregation at Horb; (3) The account of Sattler's trial and martyrdom; (4) The treatise on Divorce, but without notation of the author's initials and date. The date and place of publication of this book are not known, but it probably appeared in Switzerland or South Germany about 1535.[10]

The title of the 1533 edition of the Seven Articles, the Berlin copy, reads: *Brüderlich vereynigung etzlicher kinder Gottes / sieben Artickel betreffend.* The undated edition (the Munich copy) reads: *Brüderliche vereynigung etzlicher kinder Gottes / siben Artickel betreffend.* The *Sammelband* edition at Goshen reads: *Brüderlich vereinigung etlicher Kinder Gottes / sieben artickel betreffend.* All three editions vary slightly in spelling and text, the Sammelband readings being most divergent. For example the 1533 edition reads *mir* for *wein* the first sentence of article 3. The copies in Munich and Goshen read *wir.* In article 2 the 1533 edition mentions "the command of Christ." The copy at Goshen agrees. But the Munich copy reads, "of our Christ." However, the following sentence in the Goshen copy mentions the "regulation of the Spirit *of God*," while the other two copies omit the word *Gottes.* On the other hand, the Goshen copy omits the word *vast* (very) in the first sentence of paragraph 5. Here is the first sentence of Article one in two of the copies:

1533 EDITION

Der Tauff sol geben werden allen denen, so gelernt sint, die buoss vnd endrung dess lebens, vnd glauben in der warheyt, das jhre sünd durch Christum hinweg genummen seien, vnd allen denen, so wœllen wandlen in der vffersteeung Jesu Christi, vnd mit jm begraben wöllen sein in todt, vff dz sie mit jm vfferstan mögen. . . .

GOSHEN COPY

Der Tauff sol geben werden allen denen so gelernt seind die bus vund enderung des lebens / vnd glauben in der warheit / das jre suend durch Christum hinweggenomen seyen / vñ allen denen / so woellē wandeln in der aufferstehung Jesu Christi / vnd mit jm begraben woellē seyn in todt / auff das sie mit jm auffer-stehn moegen. . . .

The place of adoption of the Seven Articles was long a matter of dispute. Many authors considered "Schlaten am Randen" to refer to the town of Schlatt in the German province of Baden.[11] But

[10] Friedmann suggests, 1527 to 1535.

[11] Walter Köhler, Samuel Cramer, Heinrich Böhmer, H. Hermelink, Ernst H. Correll, Samuel Geiser, Christian Neff and John Horsch. Köhler, Horsch and Neff seem to have abandoned their earlier position in later years, however.

Professor Fritz Blanke of the University of Zurich, Switzerland, has shown conclusively that Schlaten is simply the local dialect designation for Schleitheim, a Swiss village near Schaffhausen.[12] This was known already by J. J. Rüeger[13] (1548-1606) and J. J. Spleiss[14] (1586-1657).

The pastoral letter in which the Seven Articles are found does not indicate the author. But men as early as J. H. Ottius of the seventeenth century regarded Michael Sattler as the writer.[15] This conclusion we now know to be correct; we need no longer base our belief on pure conjecture. A letter written by fifty Swiss Brethren elders (bishops) to Menno Simons mentioned the fact that there was a minister at their conference held in Strasbourg in 1555-56, who had lived in Michael Sattler's time and in whose house the *verdragh* (agreement) of Michael Sattler was made.[16] It has been conjectured that the minister was Farwendel,[17] an elder at Kreuznach. In any case the *Agreement* of Michael Sattler is clearly a reference to the *Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God Concerning Seven Articles.* It should be noted in passing that two editions of the Schleitheim Articles early appeared in Dutch translation, in 1560 and 1565.[18]

It should be remembered that the Schleitheim Articles do not attempt to cover the entire realm of Christian doctrine. John Horsch has observed that they are a summary of differences between the Swiss Brethren and the state churchmen of the time.[19] The Seven Articles are, however, a splendid testimony to the great earnestness of the Brethren and are themselves the best refutation of the serious charges of fanaticism and immorality which Zwingli hurled against them.[20]

[12] *Corpus Reformatorum,* Vol. XCIII, *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* . . . . Band VI, Lieferung 102/103, 1936, 103ff. The *Elenchus* covers pages 1 to 196 of Volume VI, but the refutation of the Schleitheim articles is confined to pages 103 to 155.

[13] *Chronik der Stadt u. Landschaft Schaffhausen,* V, Kap. 8. Cited by Blanke, *Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke, VI,* 105.

[14] Cf. Blanke, *ibid.,* 106. Other authors who recognized Schleitheim in "Schlaten" were August Baur, 1889; Usteri, 1890; R. Stähelin, 1895; W. J. McGlothlin, 1911.

[15] *Annales Anabaptistici,* 1672, 44. For a list of others see Blanke, *op. cit.,* 105.

[16] "Ende ooc isser een leeraer bij ons gheweest, die bij Michiel Satelaers tijden gheweest is, en dat verdragh Michiel Satlaers is in synen huijse geschiet . . . . ." S. B. ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Groningen* . . . I, (1842) 261. Cf. A. Hulshof, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden te Straatsburg van* 1525-1557, (Amsterdam, 1905) 229. See also Köhler, *op. cit.,* 304, and Blanke, *op. cit.,* 105.

[17] Köhler, *op. cit.,* 304. Cf. *Menn. Lexikon,* I, 632.

[18] Republished by Samuel Cramer in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* V, 1909, 585-613.

[19] *M.Q.R.* IV, 4 (Oct. 1930), 245. Fritz Blanke confirms this observation, *op. cit.,* 106.

[20] Cf. S. M. Jackson, *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli,* Philadelphia, 1901, 125, and John Horsch: "An Inquiry into the Truth of Accusations of Fanaticism and Crime

In the translation which follows, the German text of the 1533 edition (1908 reprint by Köhler) was followed. The translation is free in places, particularly in the citation of Bible verses where the King James version of 1611 is followed unless the German deviated therefrom too sharply.

BROTHERLY UNION OF A NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF GOD CONCERNING SEVEN ARTICLES

May joy, peace and mercy from our Father through the atonement of the blood of Christ Jesus, together with the gifts of the Spirit—Who is sent from the Father to all believers for their strength and comfort and for their perseverence in all tribulation until the end, Amen—be to all those who love God, who are the children of light, and who are scattered everywhere as it has been ordained of God our Father, where they are with one mind assembled together in one God and Father of us all: Grace and peace of heart be with you all, Amen.

Beloved brethren and sisters[21] in the Lord: First and supremely we are always concerned for your consolation and the assurance of your conscience (which was previously misled) so that you may not always remain foreigners to us and by right almost completely excluded, but that you may turn again to the true implanted members of Christ, who have been armed through patience and knowledge of themselves, and have therefore again been united with us in the strength of a godly Christian spirit and zeal for God.

It is also apparent with what cunning the devil has turned us aside, so that he might destroy and bring to an end the work of God which in mercy and grace has been partly begun in us. But Christ, the true Shepherd of our souls, Who has begun this in us, will certainly direct the same and teach [us] to His honor and our salvation, Amen.

Dear brethren and sisters, we who have been assembled in the Lord at Schleitheim on the Border, make known in points and articles to all who love God that as concerns us we are of one mind to abide in the Lord as God's obedient children, [His] sons and daughters, we who have been and shall be separated from the world in everything, [and] completely at peace. To God alone be praise and glory without the contradiction of any brethren. In this we have perceived the oneness of the Spirit of our Father and of our common Christ with us. For the Lord is the Lord of peace and not of quarreling, as Paul points out. That you may understand in what articles this has been formulated you should observe and note [the following].

A very great offense has been introduced by certain false brethren among us, so that some have turned aside from the faith, in the way they intend to practice and observe the freedom of the Spirit and of Christ. But

against the Early Swiss Brethren," *M.Q.R.* VIII, 1, 2 (Jan. and April, 1934), 18-31, 73-89. Walther Köhler's description of Zwingli's attempted refutation of the Schleitheim articles is quite interesting (translated from the German): "Point for point Zwingli then goes through the separate articles. Not always thoroughly, more seldom successfully. One observes that he is aggravated and does not know right what he shall reply; he disputes and refuses but he does not refute." (*op. cit.*, 289).

W. J. McGlothlin: *Baptist Confessions of Faith,* Philadelphia, 1911, 3-9, contains an English translation of Zwingli's Latin translation of the Schleitheim Articles (*Elenchus.*)

21 Fritz Blanke, in "Beobachtungen zum Ältesten Täuferbekenntnis," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* 38, 2/3, 242, thinks the mention of the sisters is worthy of note.

such have missed the truth and to their condemnation are given over to the lasciviousness and self-indulgence of the flesh. They think faith and love may do and permit everything, and nothing will harm them nor condemn them, since they are believers.[22]

Observe, you who are God's members in Christ Jesus, that faith in the Heavenly Father through Jesus Christ does not take such form. It does not produce and result in such things as these false brethren and sisters do and teach. Guard yourselves and be warned of such people, for they do not serve our Father, but their father, the devil.

But you are not that way. For they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its passions and lusts. You understand me[23] well and [know] the brethren whom we mean. Separate yourselves from them for they are perverted. Petition the Lord that they may have the knowledge which leads to repentance, and [pray] for us that we may have constancy to persevere in the way which we have espoused, for the honor of God and of Christ, His Son, Amen.

The articles which we discussed and on which we were of one mind are these 1. Baptism; 2. The Ban [Excommunication]; 3. Breaking of Bread; 4. Separation from the Abomination; 5. Pastors in the Church; 6. The Sword; and 7. The Oath.

First. Observe concerning baptism: Baptism shall be given to all those who have learned repentance and amendment of life, and who believe truly[24] that their sins are taken away by Christ, and to all those who walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and wish to be buried with Him in death, so that they may be resurrected with Him, and to all those who with this significance request it [baptism] of us and demand it for themselves. This excludes all infant baptism, the highest and chief abomination of the pope. In this you have the foundation and testimony of the apostles. Mt. 28, Mk. 16, Acts 2, 8, 16, 19. This we wish to hold simply, yet firmly and with assurance.

Second. We are agreed as follows on the ban[25]: The ban shall be employed with all those who have given themselves to the Lord, to walk in His commandments, and with all those who are baptized into the one body of Christ and who are called brethren or sisters, and yet who slip sometimes and fall into error and sin, being inadvertently overtaken.[26] The same shall be admonished twice in secret and the third time openly disciplined or banned according to the command of Christ. Mt. 18. But this shall be done according to the regulation of the Spirit (Mt. 5) before the breaking of bread, so that we may break and eat one bread, with one mind and in one love, and may drink of one cup.

Third. In the breaking of bread we are of one mind and are agreed [as follows]: All those who wish to break one bread in remembrance of the broken body of Christ, and all who wish to drink of one drink as a remembrance of the shed blood of Christ, shall be united beforehand by

22 Blanke suggests the possibility of a man like Ludwig Hetzer being the type that is meant. Hetzer was charged with immorality.

23 Here the author betrays his having written the confession as the sole author; "You understand *me* well."

24 "Glauben in der warheyt . . ."

25 Sattler means excommunication, not the (later) Obbenite practice of shunning.

26 It should be observed that the recognized need of church discipline is a perfect refutation of the charge that the Swiss Brethren claimed to be a fellowship of absolutely perfect saints. Blanke makes mention of this in his comments on the "Elenchus," *op. cit.*, 131.

baptism in one body of Christ which is the church of God and whose Head is Christ. For as Paul points out we cannot at the same time be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils; we cannot at the same time drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of the devil. That is, all those who have fellowship with the dead works of darkness have no part in the light. Therefore all who follow the devil and the world have no part with those who are called unto God out of the world. All who lie in evil have no part in the good.

Therefore it is and must be [thus]: Whoever has not been called by one God to one faith, to one baptism, to one Spirit, to one body, with all the children of God's church, cannot be made [into] one bread with them, as indeed must be done if one is truly to break bread according to the command of Christ.

Fourth. We are agreed [as follows] on separation: A separation shall be made from the evil and from the wickedness which the devil planted in the world; in this manner, simply that we shall not have fellowship with them [the wicked] and not run with them in the multitude of their abominations. This is the way it is: Since all who do not walk in the obedience of faith, and have not united themselves with God so that they wish to do His will, are a great abomination before God, it is not possible for anything to grow or issue from them except abominable things. For truly all creatures are in but two classes, good and bad, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, the world and those who [have come] out of the world, God's temple and idols, Christ and Belial; and none can have part with the other.

To us then the command of the Lord is clear when He calls upon us to be separate from the evil and thus He will be our God and we shall be His sons and daughters.

He further admonishes us to withdraw from Babylon and the earthly Egypt that we may not be partakers of the pain and suffering which the Lord will bring upon them.

From all this we should learn that everything which is not united with our God and Christ cannot be other than an abomination which we should shun and flee from. By this is meant all popish and antipopish works and church services, meetings and church attendance,[27] drinking houses, civic affairs, the commitments [made in] unbelief[28] and other things of that kind, which are highly regarded by the world and yet are carried on in flat contradiction to the command of God, in accordance with all the unrighteousness which is in the world. From all these things we shall be separated and have no part with them for they are nothing but an abomination, and they are the cause of our being hated before our Christ Jesus, Who has set us free from the slavery of the flesh and fitted us for the service of God through the Spirit Whom He has given us.

Therefore there will also unquestionably fall from us the unchristian, devilish weapons of force—such as sword, armor and the like, and all their

27 This severe judgment on the state churches must be understood in the light of sixteenth century conditions. The state clergymen were in many cases careless and carnal men. All citizens in a given province were considered members of the state church because they had been made Christians ("christened") by infant baptism. Also, in 1527 Zurich had begun to use capital punishment on the Swiss Brethren, with the full approval of the state church leaders. Sattler himself was burned at the stake less than three months after the Schleitheim conference.

28 Might Sattler have in mind such obligations as the pledge of celibacy, made while still in Catholicism? The German phrase reads, "verpflichtunng dess vnglaubens." Blanke, *op. cit.*, 121, suggests that Sattler may mean simply, "association with unbelievers."

use [either] for friends or against one's enemies—by virtue of the word of Christ, Resist not [him that is] evil.

Fifth. We are agreed as follows on pastors in the church of God: The pastor in the church of God shall, as Paul has prescribed, be one who out-and-out has a good report of those who are outside the faith. This office shall be to read, to admonish and teach, to warn, to discipline, to ban in the church, to lead out in prayer for the advancement of all the brethren and sisters, to lift up the bread when it is to be broken, and in all things to see to the care of the body of Christ, in order that it may be built up and developed, and the mouth of the slanderer be stopped.

This one moreover shall be supported of the church which has chosen him, wherein he may be in need, so that he who serves the Gospel may live of the Gospel as the Lord has ordained. But if a pastor should do something requiring discipline, he shall not be dealt with except [on the testimony of] two or three witnesses. And when they sin they shall be disciplined before all in order that the others may fear.

But should it happen that through the cross this pastor should be banished or led to the Lord [through martyrdom] another shall be ordained in his place in the same hour so that God's little flock and people may not be destroyed.

Sixth. We are agreed as follows concerning the sword: The sword is ordained of God outside the perfection of Christ.[29] It punishes and puts to death the wicked, and guards and protects the good. In the Law the sword was ordained for the punishment of the wicked and for their death, and the same [sword] is [now] ordained to be used by the worldly magistrates.

In the perfection of Christ,[30] however, only the ban is used for a warning and for the excommunication of the one who has sinned, without putting the flesh to death,[31]—simply the warning and the command to sin no more.

Now it will be asked by many who do not recognize [this as] the will of Christ for us, whether a Christian may or should employ the sword against the wicked for the defense and protection of the good, or for the sake of love.

Our reply is unanimously as follows: Christ teaches and commands us to learn of Him, for He is meek and lowly in heart and so shall we find rest to our souls. Also Christ says to the heathenish woman who was taken in adultery, not that one should stone her according to the law of His Father (and yet He says, As the Father has commanded me, thus I do), but in mercy and forgiveness and warning, to sin no more. Such [an attitude] we also ought to take completely according to the rule of the ban.

Secondly, it will be asked concerning the sword, whether a Christian shall pass sentence in worldly dispute and strife such as unbelievers have

[29] Blanke points out that both Zwingli and the Anabaptists appealed to Romans 13 in substantiation of their respective doctrines of the state. According to the Brethren the state is in no sense of the devil, but a God-ordained arrangement. "Elenchus," *op. cit.*, 130.

[30] The perfection of Christ is a concept derived from Mt. 5:48, and denotes the church of Christ. It does not mean the church of the perfect ones, for there is sin even in the church and for that reason discipline must be exercised. Cf. Blanke, *op. cit.*, 131.

[31] The German text reads, "on todt des fleyschs." Köhler thinks that the meaning intended is "*zum* todt . . . ." Blanke takes it to mean *an* (for), and regards the phrase as an allusion to I Corinthians 5:5. But *on* is simply the old form of *ohne* and is used thus in article five where it is said that the minister shall not be dealt with except (on the testimony of) two or three witnesses: "on zwen oder drei zeugen."

with one another. This is our united answer: Christ did not wish to decide or pass judgment between brother and brother in the case of the inheritance, but refused to do so. Therefore we should do likewise.

Thirdly, it will be asked concerning the sword, Shall one be a magistrate if one should be chosen as such? The answer is as follows: They wished to make Christ king, but He fled and did not view it as the arrangement of His Father. Thus shall we do as He did, and follow Him, and so shall we not walk in darkness. For He Himself says, He who wishes to come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. Also, He Himself forbids the [employment of] the force of the sword saying, The worldly princes lord it over them, etc., but not so shall it be with you. Further, Paul says, Whom God did foreknow He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, etc. Also Peter says, Christ has suffered (not ruled) and left us an example, that ye should follow His steps.

Finally it will be observed that it is not appropriate for a Christian to serve as a magistrate because of these points: The government magistracy is according to the flesh,[32] but the Christians' is according to the Spirit; their houses and dwelling remain in this world, but the Christians' are in heaven; their citizenship is in this world, but the Christians' citizenship is in heaven; the weapons of their conflict and war are carnal and against the flesh only, but the Christians' weapons are spiritual, against the fortification of the devil. The worldlings are armed with steel and iron, but the Christians are armed with the armor of God, with truth, righteousness, peace, faith, salvation and the Word of God. In brief, as is the mind of Christ toward us, so shall the mind of the members of the body of Christ be through Him in all things, that there may be no schism in the body through which it would be destroyed. For every kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed. Now since Christ is as it is written of Him, His members must also be the same, that His body may remain complete and united to its own advancement and upbuilding.

Seventh. We are agreed as follows concerning the oath: The oath is a confirmation among those who are quarreling or making promises. In the Law it is commanded to be performed in God's Name, but only in truth, not falsely. Christ, who teaches the perfection of the Law, prohibits all swearing to His [followers], whether true or false,—neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by Jerusalem, nor by our head,—and that for the reason which He shortly thereafter gives, For you are not able to make one hair white or black. So you see it is for this reason that all swearing is forbidden: we cannot fulfill that which we promise when we swear, for we cannot change [even] the very least thing on us.

Now there are some who do not give credence to the simple command of God, but object with this question: Well now, did not God swear to Abraham by Himself (since He was God) when He promised him that He would be with him and that He would be his God if he would keep His commandments, —why then should I not also swear when I promise to someone? Answer: Hear what the Scripture says: God, since He wished more abundantly to show unto the heirs the immutability of His counsel, inserted an oath, that by two immutable things (in which it is impossible for God to lie) we might have a strong consolation. Observe the meaning of this Scripture: What God forbids you to do, He has power to do, for everything is possible for Him. God swore an oath to Abraham, says the Scripture, so that He might

32 Being "according to the flesh" does not refer to carnality proper, but to attachment to the world, a lack of separation from the "world".

show that His counsel is immutable. That is, no one can withstand nor thwart His will; therefore He can keep His oath. But we can do nothing, as is said above by Christ, to keep or perform [our oaths]: therefore we shall not swear at all [*nichts schweren*].

Then others further say as follows: It is not forbidden of God to swear in the New Testament, when it is actually commanded in the Old, but it is forbidden only to swear by heaven, earth, Jerusalem and our head. Answer: Hear the Scripture, He who swears by heaven swears by God's throne and by Him who sitteth thereon. Observe: it is forbidden to swear by heaven, which is only the throne of God: how much more is it forbidden [to swear] by God Himself! Ye fools and blind, which is greater, the throne or Him that sitteth thereon?

Further some say, Because evil is now [in the world,[33] and] because man needs God for [the establishment of] the truth, so did the apostles Peter and Paul also swear. Answer: Peter and Paul only testify of that which God promised to Abraham with the oath. They themselves promise nothing, as the example indicates clearly. Testifying and swearing are two different things. For when a person swears he is in the first place promising future things, as Christ was promised to Abraham Whom we a long time afterwards received. But when a person bears testimony he is testifying about the present, whether it is good or evil, as Simeon spoke to Mary about Christ and testified, Behold this (child) is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against.

Christ also taught us along the same line when He said, Let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil. He says, Your speech or word shall be yea and nay. (However) when one does not wish to understand, he remains closed to the meaning.[34] Christ is simply Yea and Nay, and all those who seek Him simply will understand His Word. Amen.

Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord: These are the articles of certain brethren who had heretofore been in error and who had failed to agree in the true understanding, so that many weaker consciences were perplexed, causing the Name of God to be greatly slandered. Therefore there has been a great need for us to become of one mind in the Lord, which has come to pass. To God be praise and glory!

Now since you have so well understood the will of God which has been made known by us, it will be necessary for you to achieve perseveringly, without interruption, the known will of God. For you know well what the servant who sinned knowingly heard as his recompense.

Everything which you have unwittingly done and confessed as evil doing is forgiven you through the believing prayer which is offered by us in our meeting for all our shortcomings and guilt. [This state is yours] through the gracious forgiveness of God and through the blood of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Keep watch on all who do not walk according to the simplicity of the divine truth which is stated in this letter from [the decisions of] our meeting, so that everyone among us will be governed by the rule of the ban and henceforth the entry of false brethren and sisters among us may be prevented.

[33] The original German phrase is not at all clear. It reads: "wann nun dz vnrecht ist, wann mann Got zuo der warheyt braucht, so haben apostel Petrus vnd Paulus auch gschworen."

[34] "Das mann nit verstan woelle, das er die meynung zuogelassen hab."

Eliminate from you that which is evil and the Lord will be your God and you will be His sons and daughters.

Dear brethren, keep in mind what Paul admonishes Timothy when he says, The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; Who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a people of His own, zealous of good works. Think on this and exercise yourselves therein and the God of peace will be with you.

May the Name of God be hallowed eternally and highly praised, Amen. May the Lord give you His peace, Amen.

The Acts of Schleitheim on the Border [Canton Schaffhausen, Switzerland], on Matthias' [Day],[35] Anno MDXXVII.

Note: The words in brackets are inserted by the translator to clarify the text. The words in parentheses are a part of the original text. [J. C. W]

[35] February 24.

MENNONITE AGRICULTURE IN COLONIAL LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

The First Intensive Agriculture in America*

IRA D. LANDIS

Agriculture is the foundation, primeval and contemporary, of all industry and commerce, in truth of all life and civilization. The Lancaster Mennonite forefathers of 1710, infused with a love for agriculture as Uzziah of old[1], passed by twenty-five-year-old Germantown village with its industry for the inland wilds, to settle a new and spacious land as farmers. This land at first was a part of Chester County. When made into Lancaster County in 1729 it included the fourteen townships of the present county with three more for a sizable portion of modern Dauphin and Lebanon Counties.[2]

* The Mennonites and Amish of Lancaster, County, Pennsylvania (together with their brethren in Bucks and Montgomery Counties) constituted the heart of Pennsylvania-Germandom in colonial times so far as agriculture is concerned. Their practices were the most advanced and their economy the most successful. Lancaster County became the most advanced and prosperous agricultural region in America, the "Garden Spot," because of them. For this reason it is justifiable, as this article does, to apply the accounts of Pennsylvania German colonial agricultural primarily to them, even when they do not specifically refer to Lancaster County. The sub-title, "The first intensive agriculture in America," is justified in the light of the historical evidence that it was the Swiss and Swiss-Palatine Mennonites who first introduced such practices as crop rotation, use of animal manure and lime for fertilization, use of legumes, good care of stock, etc., which alone make intensive agriculture possible. The reader is referred to Ernst Correll's excellent book on the Swiss-Palatinate Mennonites, *Das Schweizerische Taüfermennonitentum* (Tübingen, 1925), for the only adequate discussion of the advanced agricultural techniques of these people in Europe. This book, which unfortunately is available only in German, gives the essential European historical background for the Mennonite agriculture of colonial Pennsylvania.—H.S.B.

1 2 Chron. 26:10.

2 Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County,* Pennsylvania, (Philadelphia, 1883), 25 *et passim.*

2a Lancaster County has a population of 212,504 (1940 Census), an increase of 7.9 per cent in ten years, but the increase was greater rurally than in the city, so that the urban percentage dropped from 46.1 in 1930 to 44.7 in ten years. Of the total population 225 people are on each square mile. Subtracting the 61,345 in the city, there would be 160 persons per square mile in the country. Of this population all Mennonite groups together aggregate 17,165 baptized members or a community of 23,000 plus. This would be 15.2 per cent of the entire rural population. Theses members (in the country only) are distributed among the various branches as follows:

Mennonite	11500	Reformed Mennonite	500
Old Order Amish	1885	Stauffer Mennonite	200
Old Order Mennonite	1264	General Conf. Menn.	132
Groffdale Conf. Menn.	1100	M. B. C.	79
Amish with Meeting House	515		

All Lutherans with a membership of 13,000 come second. The Sunday School enrollment of Lancaster Conference alone, 19,615 (1944) is the largest of any denomination, 24.1 per cent of the Lancaster City-County enrollment and 26.7 per cent of the entire Mennonite Church—Cf. 1945 *Lancaster County Sunday School Association Yearbook* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1915) and the 1945 *Mennonite Year Book* (1945, Scottdale, Pennsylvania).

The present County, the home of the largest settlement of Mennonites in America,[2a] lies in southeastern Pennsylvania; bounded on the north by Dauphin, Lebanon and Berks Counties, on the east by Berks and Chester Counties, on the south by the state of Maryland, and on the west by York County. The Susquehanna River forms its western boundary, the Mason and Dixon line its southern, the Swatara Creek its northwestern, and the Octararo Creek its southeastern. The Conestoga in its meandering course wanders sixty-two miles through it, draining most of it. Its area is 941 square miles or 602,240 acres. The greatest distance east and west is 46 miles and north and south 40. Fifty percent lies in a central valley from Morgantown to the Susquehanna, surrounded by higher hills on all sides. Even this is intercepted by tongues of hills projecting into it. The land generally is not hilly nor swampy, but slightly rolling. The annual mean temperature is 51 degrees Fahrenheit, and the average rainfall is 41 inches. The average elevation is 350 to 700 feet above sea level. Frosts come as late as May 22 and as early as September 22, but these are exceptional.

The largest and richest soil series in Lancaster County, the Hagerstown (mostly silt loam), extends from the Susquehanna below Bainbridge across the country north of Lancaster to both Berks and Chester County lines, split by the Welsh Mountain in the east. Another narrow block runs from Manheim to Millway, then, decidedly enlarged, east to Denver. The Hagerstown silt loams (24 percent) and clay loams (4.5 percent) constitute a very fertile extensive block of 171,712 acres. The soil for 8 to 12 inches is prevailingly brown with another foot of yellowish-brown subsoil, underlaid with a reddish friable clay on limestone rock three to ten feet think. Less than two percent is not under cultivation today. This land formerly was covered with oak, hickory, ash, elm, tulip, sycamore, walnut, maple, beech, birch, buckeye and locust trees. This is the corn, tobacco, wheat and hay of the "Garden Spot," with its fertility preserved by heavy steer-feeding. There is little dairying, and until recent years little extensive vegetable gardening. Tomatoes look promising on this soil today.

The Conestoga series (8.5 percent) south and southwest of Lancaster and from Quarryville to Christiana have a brown soil with a yellow to olive green subsoil. The qualities and practices are similar to the Hagerstown series.

The Manor soils (22.7 percent) on the southern plateau take in much of the southern end, the land of the Scotch-Irish and Quakers which until recent years was considered too light for the

Mennonites. Less of this land is in a high state of cultivation. More dairying is done and less intensive agriculture.

The Berks light brown series (7.3 percent), the Chester reddish or brown (3.9), the Penn Indian red (4.2), and the Lansdale grayish yellow (3.4) are smaller soil series mostly in the northern parts. All told there are thirty-six types representing seventeen different series.[3]

The first settlement in Lancaster County, made in 1710 between West Willow and Strasburg,[4] was mostly on Conestoga silt loam with here and there a spot of Conestoga loam and of Hagerstown silt loam. By 1717 the settlers had reached the Hagerstown silt loams northwest of the city and by 1725 were scattered over it from Weaverland to the Donegals.

With an ancestry of farming folk for hundreds of years in Switzerland and the Palatinate, and realizing that the Holland Mennonites by turning their backs to agriculture were losing out spiritually,[5] it is not surprising that under the providences of a kind Heavenly Father the Lancaster immigrants were willing to face the hardships of pioneering in a wilderness.[6] The first settlers came on horseback out of Germantown with little worldly goods. With their crude wagons, loaded with the iron bound chest, seeds, feeds, and implements, they made their way through the forests. The children huddled in the wagons, the rest walked. Some of the men preceded to clear the path. When the wagons mired in the swamps, the horses or oxen were placed on the solid ground and a chain or rope hooked to the wagon till all were safe again. The Conestoga Road from Philadelphia to the Conestoga Creek via Gap, Strasburg and the Christian Herr House was opened in 1714.[7]

[3] B. D. Gilbert, W. B. Cobb, Earl Moffitt and J. F. Cox *Soil Survey of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1916), United States Department of Agriculture, pp. 1-70, with soils map. See also H. Austin Roddy, *Physical and Industrial Geography of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1916), 47-48, with soils map.

[4] See Ira D. Landis, "Mennonites in Lancaster County," *Youth's Christian Companion,* Oct. 8, 1944, and Feb. 25, 1945.

[5] Cf. Cornelius Krahn, "The Historiography of the Mennonites in the Netherlands", *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XVIII (October 1944), 196.

[6] Regardless of which of the three Swataras of early Pennsylvania history is meant, Whittier's eulogy of the Pennsylvania Mennonites would apply equally well to all districts. Quoted from *Whittier's Poetical Works,* Vol. III, 49 (1893):

> And that bold hearted yeomanry, honest and true,
> Who haters of fraud, give to labore its due,
> Whose fathers of old, sang in concert with time,
> On the banks of the Swatara, the songs of the Rhine,
> The German born pilgrims who first dared to brave
> The scorn of the proud in the cause of the slave.

[7] C. I. Landis, "The First Long Turnpike in the United States," *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society,* XX, No. 8 (1916). Reprint 1917, p. 1.

When the immigrant family reached their destination they chose a spring as the location of the farm buildings. This was not only convenient, but the only way of getting drinking water. They used the canvas wagon cover brought from Europe to make a tent until the log house could be erected to give shelter. While the sturdy men cut the forest grants to make the logs, the white-capped[8] home-spun clad women under the open canopy of heaven made and here served the hard earned meals to happy families. To a kind Heavenly Father they always said "Grace."

Indian squaws had only scratched the surface of the soil with sticks and usually burned the trees and underbrush to clear small patches for corn. Due to the heavy timber, there were only a few swamps and meadows. Few spots were barren of wood and grass. "Where wood grows heaviest the soil must be the best,"[9] and so they found it. Strong was the contrast to the scarcity of forest in the Palatinate, and the severity of the forest laws there.

Whether in the 16th century in Switzerland or the 17th in the Palatinate, due to their industry and thrift they turned the rich valleys into the most productive garden spots.[10] So here in Pennsylvania[11] as they traveled they were observant, but when they stopped they were satisfied and dug in.

The immigrant soon began to plow with a crude wooden plow, which he made himself. The women planted in the garden by the house a few vegetable seeds and flower bulbs, which they had brought along. The house at first was without cellar and floor. The window panes were not of glass. The doors moved on wooden hinges and were fastened with wooden bars.

For the introduction of cows and horses, meadows were necessary. The resourceful settlers conducted water from the spring along the hillside in wooden troughs. At regular periods these troughs overflowed to their meadows below. Relics of these troughs can still be seen.

Summer time was spent in sowing and harvest. Winter time

8 Ellis and Evans, *op. cit.*, 346.

9 An adage often quoted. Cf. Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania,* (N. Y., 1901), 86.

10 Kuhns, *op. cit.*, 7, refers to their "indomitable industry, keen wit, independence and high degree of intelligence." Cf. also Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania,* II (Philadelphia, 1798), 274: "The Germans seem more adapted for agriculture and the improvement of a wilderness, the Irish for trade."

11 "They have an instinct for fine land, establish homes on the most fertile plains and along broad rich valleys." (Daniel Eberly, et al., *Landmark History of the United Brethren Church* [Reading, 1911] 101.) "The German element has been as strong as in those counties embodying richer soils." (John Gibson, *History of York County,* [Chicago, 1886], 250.)

was spent in flailing the grain, studying the Bible, and teaching the three R's through the fourth R. They developed the art of being religious, sociable, and at peace with the Indian neighbor.

Since lumber was plentiful the massive Swisser barns soon were built 60 to 120 feet long, and 50 to 60 feet wide. They were two storied with massive stone walls. The roofing was first of rye straw, which made a good appearance and was very satisfactory for years. Later split shingles, tile and even heavy glass was used before slate and modern materials made their appearance. Most barns were built with a forebay and an arch cellar. Soon a corn barn and horse shed were attached or placed under the same roof. Fireplaces were built on each floor of the house. The windows were now hung with weights. The hinges and latches were home-made but of iron. The wife's name was added to that of her husband with the date of the building usually cut in stone. Sometimes a German adage was added as on the Weidman house on the Middle Creek and the Bricker house in Cocalico.[12]

Flax, spelt, hemp and rye were raised, although by 1800 wheat had replaced the spelt and much of the rye.[13] Throughout the community, presses to extract oil were built. Harvesting was done with the sickle and the German scythe prior to 1800; the men did the mowing and the women the binding. The work was slow. The threshing with the flail took all winter.[13a] The cradle was quite an improvement with the turn of the century. The double-toothed tumbling grain rake came in 1830 and the McCormick reaper came in 1851, transplanting the cradle by 1860. The grain drill replaced broadcasting after 1843. Now horse labor took the place of some hand labor in the fields. About 1830 the thresher appeared, replacing the flail by 1840. Steam threshing was general only after

[12] On the Weidman House:

Wer will bauen an die strasen
Mus ein jeden Roden sasen
WWM ANO 1755 Jahr SDM

On the Bricker House in German:

God bless this house;
And all that enters or goes out
God bless all the people
And also all the land.
To God alone be the honor
And to no one else.
A. D. 1759
Peter Bricker and Elizabeth his wife.

[13] Frederic S. Klein, *Lancaster County, 1841-1941* (Lancaster, 1941). Also W. F. Dunaway, *History of Pennsylvania* (N. Y., 1935), Chapter, "Agriculture," pp. 253-271. So remarkable was the hemp that two townships are still called Hempfield (East and West).

[13a] They strenuously objected to the introduction of the grain separator in the fifties, for that would decidedly reduce their winter work.

1860. The twine binder was first seen in 1878 and perfected by 1885. By 1825 fanning mills took the place of hand fanning. Corn shellers were common in the fifties. More land was being cleared, much was drained 1830-1850, and the farmers were truly prosperous.

The Conestoga wagon, named after the Conestoga Creek, built for rough roads and long journeys, originated in the County. It was used prior to 1760, though not too extensively, but by 1765 there were 10,000 in use.[14] Many of these hauled their wares to Philadelphia in fall and winter and returned with provisions for town and country. Some made a practice of draying the year around. The grown boy would be the teamster until he married, when the next would take the team. By 1790 there was a piked road to Philadelphia, with many hostelries along the way for their convenience.

In addition to the 6400 acres which the first 1710 immigrants claimed, John Herr and Martin Kendig, as agents for the Mennonite colony, obtained a patent for 5,000 acres anywhere in the county in November, 1717, "to be sold to Mennonites only."[14a] This was but a small portion of the land which they sold. By 1735, 500 Mennonite families had settled here.[15] Thus from the very beginning a strong Mennonite settlement was established. In addition, in 1755 the Proprietors ordered no land sold to the Irish in Lancaster and York Counties, and even went so far as to ask them to move to Cumberland County.[16] These two measures aided materially in making Lancaster a Mennonite stronghold.

The remarkable success of the early Lancaster Mennonite settlement, as well as the secret of it, can best be set forth by testimonies from contemporary travelers and observers. A series of these statements will now be cited.

"What pleases me here [in Pennsylvania]," wrote an early immigrant,[17] "is that one can be peasant, scholar, priest, and nobleman at the same time. . . . To be a peasant and nothing else is a sort of a cattle life; to be a scholar and nothing else, as in Europe, is a morbid and self-indulgent existence."

14 *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXII (1938), 286. Blunstone in 1728 refers to "A great many wagons going down to Philadelphia," quoted in H. Frank Eshleman, *Historic Background and Annals of the Swiss and German Pioneer Settlers of Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1917), 230.

14a Ira D. Landis in *Youth's Christian Companion* (April 8, 1945) 493.

15 Bishop Christian Herr (b. 1770) in I. Daniel Rupp, *An Original History of the Religious Denominations in the U.S.* (Phila., 1844), "The Mennonites," 486-501.

16 I. D. Rupp, *History of Lancaster County* (Phila., 1844) 288, 289.

17 *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* XI (1887).

A traveler of 1744 wrote:[18]

We have been accustomed to hear the population of Pennsylvania sneered at and counted as vulgar and ignorant; and our Germans branded as animals. But by their fruits ye shall know them. Thus tested they are not surpassed by any population in any country. They are intelligent and honest; they understand perfectly the business that belongs to them, they do all that they have to do in the best manner and with the best results. There is no agriculture in the United States like that of the Germans of Pennsylvania, there is none superior anywhere. I have known farms in which other occupiers starved and have finally been ejected by the Sheriff and then they were succeeded by Germans, who in a few years covered the barren fields with rich crops and became prosperous and wealthy.

Their sterling qualities were the admiration early of the Philadelphians. John Dickinson, at the port of entry in 1717, wrote:[19]

We had a parcel of Palatines who came five years ago, who purchased land about sixty miles west of Philadelphia and proved quiet and industrious.

Robert Proud, the first historian of Pennsylvania, wrote in 1798:[20]

The Germans seem more adapted for agriculture and the improvement of the wilderness and the Irish for trade. The German soon gets the estates in this country, where industry and economy are the chief requisites to procure them.

Wm. Penn declared: "The back-lands are generally three to one richer than those that lie by navigable rivers."[21] He told Pastorius that he was quite happy to give the Germans this land. However the prosperity of the Germans was not due as much to Penn's beneficence or interest (he spent less than four years in America), or that of the Proprietor, as to the character of the people themselves.[22]

In 1728 Governor Gordon, in granting naturalization privileges to these Conestoga "Menists," addressed the Pennsylvania Assembly thus:[23]

These people had hitherto behaved themselves well and had generally so good a character for honesty and industry as to deserve the esteem of this good government and a mark of its regard for them.

[18] A Traveller (1744) in Lancaster County, quoted in Hazard's *Register,* VI 69.

[19] Kuhns, *op. cit.,* 53.

[20] Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania,* II (Phila., 1798), 174, quoted by Kuhns. S. W. Pennypacker (138) described the Swedes and Dutch as poor economists, have neither barns nor stalls and let the grain lay unthreshed.

[21] Quoted by Proud, *op. cit.,* I, 247.

[22] And not the proprietors. Cf. E. K. Martin in address in Lancaster in the eighties, found in a scrap book on Lancaster in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pa. Governor Thomas in addressing the Assembly said: "It is not altogether the goodness of the soil, but the number and industry of the people that make a flourishing country." (*Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1852), IV, 315.)

[23] *Colonial Records,* III, 374.

In 1738 Governor Thomas wrote:[24]

This province has been for some years the asylum of distressed Protestants of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, and I believe it may truthfully be said that the present flourishing condition of it is in a great measure owing to the industry of this people.

Governor Pownall in 1754 wrote:[25]

I saw [on a visit to Lancaster County] the finest farms one can conceive and in the highest state of culture, particularly one that was the estate of a Switzer. Here it was the first I saw the method of watering the whole range of pastures and meadows from a hillside, by troughs cut in the side of the hill, along which the water from the springs was conducted, so that when the outlet of these troughs was stopped at the end, the water ran over the sides and watered all the ground between that and the other trough next below it. . . . I never saw it there [in England], but saw it here first.

William Johnston wrote in 1755:[26]

Pennsylvania is much the best country of any I have seen since I have been upon the continent and much more plenty of provisions than Maryland and Virginia. . . . You will see many inland towns in England so large as this (Lancaster) and none so regular; and yet this town I'm told is not above 25 years standing and a most delightful country around it. It is mostly inhabited by the Dutch people.

Carl Schurz, in appraising the Pennsylvania German, says:[27]

He loved the soil as his family . . . . He was of untiring industry, strongly marked honesty, frugality and the inclination to take life seriously.

Kuhns characterizes the early Pennsylvania German thus:[28]

Industry was the highest virtue; idleness and sin went hand in hand. They practiced the utmost simplicity in all things temporal and spiritual in life and death. Hard work, good health, an easy conscience, independence begotten of possession of a comfortable home, and land enough to provide for all their wants, this was the life of our ancestors.

The Frenchman Crevecoeur in 1782 wrote:[29]

[24] Quoted in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* XVIII, 215.

[25] Quoted in Kuhns, *op. cit.,* 90. For this reason Hans Groff for example, divided his land among his second set of boys with a meadow through each parcel. The characteristic irrigated meadow-culture described here had its origins in Mennonite agriculture in Alsace, Switzerland and the Palatinate. See the articles by Dr. Ernst Correll in the *Menn. Lexikon*: "Donnersberg," I, 465; "Elsass," I, 561-563. The article on "Alsace" gives details on Mennonite meadow irrigation practices there. Reference is made to the Marquis de Pezay who inspected the Eastern borderlands of France in 1760 and rendered revealing reports on Amish-Mennonite agriculture. (Lexikon I, 563, and Correll, *Schweizerisches Taufer-Mennonitentum,* (1925) 106-7.

[26] *Pennsylvania Magazine* XI, 96.

[27] Schurz, *History of German Immigration in the United States,* (Phila., 1896) 17.

[28] Kuhns, *op. cit.,* 114. He applies the next quotation to the Mennonites.

[29] Crevecoeur is quoted in *Pennsylvania Germans,* 50. On p. 30 (*ibid.*) this Frenchman is quoted as saying: "From whence the difference arises I know not, but out of twelve families of emigrants of each country, generally seven Scotch will succeed, nine Germans and four Irish. . . . The Irish do not prosper so well; . . . they seem . . . to labor under a greater degree of ignorance in husbandry than the others; perhaps it is that their industry has less scope, and was less exercised at home."

The Scotch (not Scotch-Irish) are frugal and laborious, but their wives cannot work so hard as German women, who, on the contrary, vie with their husbands and often share with them the most severe toils of the fields.

Recently Kollmorgen wrote:[30]

The Pennsylvania German farmer sensed correctly that cultural patterns rested on a foundation of language, religion and agrarian mores. A weakening or disappearance of any one of these supporting buttresses, he felt, meant a loss of unity in the family and parish, the encroachment of other religions and other ways of life, and perhaps even the abandonment of the ancestral home.

Kollmorgen cites a most interesting quotation regarding the Lutheran attitude on this point:[31]

We have made Pennsylvania the granary of the world; why should we not be proud of ourselves? . . . Do you wish to leave your children a rich inheritance? Then teach them German. Do you want your children to honor father and mother? Then see that they remain Lutherans. If they are to remain Lutherans, then they must remain German. But why remain German Lutherans or Lutheran Germans? Because if they do not remain Lutherans, they will not remain farmers, and they are nothing if not farmers. Look at your farms and then look at the others! Do you want your children to fritter away what you have earned in the sweat of your brow? How long do you think they will hold on to the family farm once they have been Anglicized? Look at the Eirishdeutsche (English speaking German farmers), you can tell the difference even now. Are their churches as prosperous as yours, their farms as well kept, their horses as sleek, their cattle as fat, their families as happy, their children as loyal as yours? Beware the beginning. The children cease speaking German, they stop going to church . . . . You won't know your children anymore; they won't get up in the morning, but will loll in bed like ladies and gentlemen. Neither will they order about; . . . but they will pester you from morn till night: Why don't you buy us a nice buggy, so that we may do as others do? Do what? Knock off long before Feierabend, dress up and go to parties where the girls dance and the boys gamble. But then it will be forever: Father give us money."

History proves the wisdom of these Lutheran fathers. Our Mennonite forebears reasoned likewise.

The most extensive and valuable description of Pennsylvania-German agriculture prior to 1800 was written by Benjamin Rush, noted Philadelphia physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence. He wrote in part as follows:[32]

[30] *The Pennsylvania Germans,* 48.

[31] *Ibid.,* 49, quoted from Charles Lewis Maurer, *Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania.* (*Proceedings, Pennsylvania* German Society, Vol. XL., 1932.)

[32] *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania,* written 1789 by Benjamin Rush, M.D. Notes added by Prof. I. Daniel Rupp. (Philadelphia, 1875) The following lengthy extract from Rush-Rupp at times gives verbatim quotations and at times summarizes the original, occasionally including material from Rupp's notes which are extensive. The first part of Rush, pp. 11-33, deals with "The Manners of the German Farmers" and is arranged in paragraphs numbered from one to sixteen. The extract given here follows this arrangement.

The Germans taken as a body especially as farmers are not only industrious and frugal but skillful cultivators of the earth. They are noted for their good fences, the extent of their orchards, the fertility of the soil, the productiveness of the fields, and the luxuriance of their meadows.

I. They always provide in settling large and suitable accommodations for their horses and cattle before laying out much money in building houses for themselves. Barns and stables are under one roof, with necessary conveniences for feeding and dunging.

The houses are small and built of logs with one chimney in the center for their stoves. (The English had two at the gables.) The milkhouse at the spring for their milk has a floor above for smoking meats or storing winter apples. The pioneer's house was built, although primitively, to last a lifetime. "A son should always begin where his father left off" by building a convenient stone-house.

II. They always prefer good land with "great quantity of meadow land. . . . From an attention to the cultivation of grass, they double the value of an old farm in a few years and grow rich on farms on which their predecessors of whom they purchased them, had nearly starved." They prefer farms with improvements rather than settling on new tracts. (Some use Gypsum or lime early.)

III. They never girdle trees, but cut down and grub all underbrush so that the ground is as ready in one year as twenty years thereafter. It is immediately ready and saves implements in working.

IV. They feed horses and cows so well that horses can do twice the labor and cows produce twice the milk that ill-fed do. The German horse known everywhere seems "to feel with his lord, the pleasure and pride of his extraordinary size and fat. . . ."

V. The snake fences are generally high and well built for horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep.

VI. They were great economists of wood. The cannon and ten plate stoves made in Lancaster County used but one-fifth of the wood burned in open hearths.[33] It saves horses in winter from hauling wood which unfits Scotch horses of neighbors. These are so comfortable in winter that members of the household can do twice the work. They reforested by fencing.

VII. Barns were warm to save hay and grain. For a cold animal consumes more to maintain body temperature.

VIII. Frugality in the families was manifest in diet, furniture, and apparel. They sold the more profitable wheat and ate the less profitable corn. "The profit thus is equal in the course of a lifetime, to the price of a farm for one of his children."

They eat sparingly of boiled animal food, with large quantities of vegetables as salad, turnips, onions and cabbage [in sauer kraut]. The latter (the royal dish of Charlemagne), was served three and four times per week in winter in their German homeland. Large quantities of milk and cheese were used. Cider, water, beer and wine were their chief drinks. Distilled liquors were seldom used.

The furniture was plain and useful. Light feather beds [33b] ("to butter

[33] With the stoves came the floors in the houses. This change was noticeable prior to the Revolution.

[33a] Hundreds of farms in Lancaster County are still in the possession of lineal descendents of ancestors who secured them from the Penns.

[33b] Elkanah Watson, in his *Travels and Manners* (1855) 32, gives the following on Lancaster County: "At Reamstown I was placed between two feather beds, without sheets or pillows. This as I was told was a prevailing German custom, but which as

both sides") were economical and convenient. They were homespun generally.

To spin, to weave, to ready make his clothes
And keep them clean, the frugal farmer knows.

They were afraid of debt and seldom purchased without cash.

Carpets they never had until 1800. (In Philadelphia carpets first by 1750.)

IX. They cultivated large and profitable gardens near their homes. They developed the first knowledge of horticulture in America. These have aided the health of the commonwealth.

X. They seldom had hired servants, especially colored slaves. In 1790, according to Rupp, German Berks County had only one negro slave to 464 white population (65 slaves in all). Scotch-Irish Cumberland County had a ratio of one negro slave to 44 whites (360 slaves in all).

The women helped at harvest, leaving their dairies and spinning jennies. They cultivated the garden, dressed and kept it, decorated the cottage with choice honey-suckle and trained direct tendrils of grapes to shade the houses. In winter they spun flax; in spring, wool on the humming wheel. From warp and weft of spun yarn they wove linen, linsey and wool webs. A loom was in each home. Cloth was bleached on the yard.

XI. The Conestoga wagon was capable of hauling two and three thousand pounds on the roughest roads. In September and October (1788) fifty to one hundred wagons of these per day came into Philadelphia with the strong Conestoga horses bred in Pennsylvania from imported English horses. They used harness made of stips of raw hide.

XII. Human happiness from agricultural life was manifest by joy at the birth of child. No dread of poverty, no distrust of Providence from an increasing family, depressed the spirits of these industrious and frugal people. A son meant the gift of a ploughman or waggoner; a daughter, another spinster or milk maid. . . . "Signs of innocence, industry, wealth and happiness in a state."

XIII. They cultivated habits of labor but also a love of it. "To fear God and to love work" was the first lesson taught to children. "They prefer industrious habits to money itself. When a young man asks the consent of his father to marry the girl of his choice, he does not so much enquire whether she be rich or poor, whether she possess any personal or mental accomplishments, as whether she be industrious and acquainted with the duties of a good housewife."

He that earns and saves will be
Rich for certain, you will see.

In smallest space, a fruit tree place,
Attend it well, have fruit to sell.

If not in favor of a marriage:

The marriage state is like a coop, built stout,
The outs would fain be in, the ins, be out.

XIV. They set great value on patrimonial property. They thus kept their young from folly and vice and encouraged each parent to improve the property for those "who shall inherit his blood and name."

far as my experience goes, tends little to promote either the sleep or comfort of a stranger." He says further: "Lancaster the largest town of the American interior of 1000 houses and 6000 people is situated in one of the most lovely and luxuriant regions in the country, delightfully diversified with waving hills, pleasant dales, adorned by lovely scenery and highly cultivated farms—in a word, all that can invite to pastoral life."

XV. They do much according to the age and appearance of the moon, i.e., they were superstitious.

Most, including Mennonites, were interested in the religious education of children which was not true of sects now defunct. (Labadists, Women of Wilderness, Zions Brueder, New Born, Rondoerfer, Inspired Separatists, Quietists, Gishtlians, Dipellians, who made a display of "their subjective piety" are nonexistent today.)

"Not one has been brought to a place of public shame or punishment."

They are peaceable and exact in the payment of taxes. They are but little addicted to convivial pleasures, and seldom meet for "feeding parties," but are given to hospitality. An Irishman lost in Lancaster County, was entertained by a German host who would take no pay. "Pay someone else as you have been for I was once lost and so entertained without pay."

"Of a training *in Christ,* they stand behind none of a certain kind of education."

Cui bono?[34] is their question—not just useful.

Comparing value of property brought in and now possessed would "in contrast form such a monument of human industry and economy as has seldom been contemplated in age or country." . . . They enjoy here every blessing that liberty, toleration, independence, affluence, virtue and reputation can confer upon them.

Above all, cherish with peculiar tenderness, those sects among them who hold war to be unlawful. . . . Protect them as repositories of the truth of the gospel. . . .

Perhaps those German sects of Christians among us who refuse to bear arms for the purpose of shedding human blood, may be preserved by divine providence as the centre of a circle which shall gradually embrace all nations of the earth in a perpetual treaty of friendship and peace.

Appended to Rush's work is a long quotation from the Editor of the (Philadelphia) Public Ledger in 1856, from which the following sentences are taken.

Whether a denizen of the state be valuable to it on account of what he annually adds to the realized wealth of the community or for his faithful obedience to the laws or the sacredness with which he preserves the family compact, our German farmers certainly merit as much as any other class for the practice of either of these virtues or indeed for the harmonious exercise of all. . . . They are really the finest race of men, physically, to be found within the borders of the United States. . . .

[The editor quotes a Mr. Munch as assertive that the population of the German counties is] a genial, solid and respectable stamp, enviably circumstanced in comparison with the European farmer, and very far his superior in intelligence and morals.

Theophile Cazenove, a Frenchman, in 1794, comparing them with Paris society, views them through green glasses:[35]

I visited several farms in the famous Lancaster County belonging to farmers known to be worth 10 to 15 thousand pounds. I found them having for din-

[34] "For whose advantage?" or "To what end?"

[35] R. W. Kelsey, ed., *Cazenove Journal,* 1794 (Lancaster, 1922) 60, 62, 46, 22, 29, 30.

ner, potatoes, bacon and buckwheat cakes; tin goblets, a dirty little napkin instead of a table cloth on a large table; for down-stairs rooms a kitchen and a large room with the farmer's bed and the cradle, where the whole family stays all the time; apples and pears drying on the stove, a bad little mirror, a walnut bureau, sometimes a clock; on the second floor, tiny little rooms where the family sleeps on pallets with curtains, without furniture.

No care is taken to keep the entrance to the house free of stones and mud, not one tree, not one flower. In the vegetable garden weeds intermingled with cabbages and a few turnips and plants. In brief with the exception of the size of the barn and a larger cultivated area, you do not distinguish between the rich Pennsylvania farmer and the poor farmer of other states.

Although several German farmers . . . have fine stone houses, two stories high with English windows, etc., the inside is almost unfurnished; in the large fine room an immense stove on which dishes are standing; potatoes and turnips on the floor; beds generally without curtains, no mirror, nor good chairs nor good tables and wardrobes.

Probably one of the causes for their slovenliness and lack of comfort, is that they did not know any better, for the German farmers who cross the Susquehanna to settle there, and especially the younger generation, take more the habits of the Irish, who like comfort more. You notice especially the clothing of the German farmers and their wives who have an opportunity to see other examples than their fathers and mothers; they have English or American clothing and from clothes it will pass to house furnishings, etc.

So you enter where the land gets better as you go; the whole country is well cultivated, and what forests the farmers keep are stocked with trees of the right kind—chestnut, locust, walnut, maple, white oak. It is a succession of hills not too high, and the aspect of the country is very beautiful. A perpetual change of hills and valleys gives the country a very pleasant rolling aspect and does not prevent cultivation; the farmers' houses are generally placed in the shallow valleys framed by the slopes of three or four wide hills cultivated to the top.

The city of Lancaster is the largest inland city in the United States.

There are many large flour mills on the large and small Conestoga Creeks, where much flour is made for the Philadelphia market. The millers are very rich. There are many Lancaster farmers who own as much as 10, 15, 20 thousand pounds in land and funds lent on mortgages on other lands. This does not keep them from coming with their long linen trousers and themselves driving a cart load of wood to the Lancaster market.

(Then passing) continuously through an extensively cultivated country where are adjoining good limestone land, fine farms, large grain fields, hickory, walnut and white oak wood.

(In eastern Lancaster County) the farms are from 200-300 acres and larger than nearer Lancaster, still good land and beautiful country (limestone land). You have to pay for farms with "improvements" from 15 to 20 pounds an acre. I went to see Leonard Ellmaker's farm. It was 320 acres, 200 of which is cultivated. There is also a flour mill and one for wood. He is a very rich farmer of the district; the whole family (7 children) were having a very bad supper around a very dirty little table and the furniture in the main room was not worth $200 and the whole farm is like those already mentioned. They say he is worth $15,000 at least.

He claims that the fathers, to get enough farms for all the children, take mortgages on them. He then transfers them sometime to the children. The children work hard to clear the indebtedness and by that time he becomes so interested in making money, it becomes his foremost goal in life.

The German farmers of Berks County are obstinate and ignorant, slovenly and stingy.

In *Travels Through North America* (1796) Isaac Weld, Jr. wrote:[36]

The farther you go from Philadelphia, the more fertile is the country and the more picturesque. Numbers of farmhouses are scattered as far as the eye can reach. These houses are mostly built of stone and are about as good as those usually met with on an arable farm of fifty acres in a well cultivated part of England. The farms attached to these houses contain about two hundred acres each and are with a few exceptions, the property of the persons who cultivate them. (They rarely exceed three hundred acres in cultivated parts. Adjoining generally, a peach or apple orchard makes cider, brandy and apple snits. In April and May nightly frosts common—peaches poor.)

Germans are a quiet, sober and industrious set of people. They generally settle a good many together in one place and, as may be supposed, in consequence, keep up many of the customs of their native country as well as their own language. The Germans are some of the best farmers in United States and they seldom are to be found but where the land is particularly good; wherever they settle, they build churches and are wonderfully attentive to the duties of religion.

The Germans are a plodding race of men wholly intent upon their own business and indifferent about that of others; a stranger is never molested with inquisitive and idle questions.

The Germans are fond of settling near each other; when the young men of a family are grown up they generally endeavor to get a piece of land in the neighborhood of their relations and by their industry soon make it valuable.

When seeking the national capital in the late nineties of the eighteenth century the claim was based upon God's blessing to the Pennsylvania German farmers: "We venture to assert that there is not a part of the United States, which can boast within a compass of ten miles the same number of wagons and good teams with ourselves."[37]

In *A Tour from Philadelphia* (October, 1809), J. C. Gilpin wrote:[38]

In Chester County, farm land was exhausted by bad cultivation, price $25-30 per acre. Our journey was from thence to Lancaster and Columbia on the Susquehanna: "a distance of thirty miles through the finest land in Pennsylvania." Descending to Gap "we come again on limestone, a fine soil and good cultivation, which marks the valleys of the Pequea and Conestoga; these are undoubtedly the richest in the state."

[36] Quoted by John T. Faris, *Seeing Pennsylvania,* (Phila., 1919) 33-37. He mentions that Washington favored Columbia for the Capital for its "beauty, security and natural advantages"—and he lost by but one vote. Washington so appreciated those German farmers that he was planning to import some to develop his Ohio lands—mentioned in *Pennsylvania Germans,* 37.

[37] *Lancaster County Historical Society* II (1897) 239.

[38] This tour is reprinted in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, L* (1926), 64-78.

Wm. Penn early endeavored to acquire the Pequea and Conestoga land from the Susquehannocks because of its fertility.

It is said that the heavy timber of the native soil and the difficulty of clearing it, frightened the Welsh, Irish and English settlers, so that they came back from it to other lands far inferior and more lightly wooded; however, it was better understood by the Germans who . . . . were the first settlers, generally retaining it ever since. It is of a different character from the Brandywine Valley and far superior. Its basis is universally limestone and its soil of a fat rich brown mould. Its aspect is also different, instead of the small features of the former valleys, it expands into grand sweeps, its hills are never too steep for the plough, but rise in that bold round form, which gives beauty to its picturesque appearance and style and magnitude to the farms. Its fields are large, its herds of cattle numerous, and the stretches of meadows between the hills or rising along their sides are of the richest verdure. The tops of the hills are generally covered with wood, and the knolls and clumps which are interspersed are equal to some of the finest park scenery in England. The houses too are of a large scale standing at a distance from the road, often in very noble situations, and with their vast barns, stabling and out-houses have an imposing effect; everywhere the utmost use is made of the rivulets, which are led about over the side hills and are the source of the rich verdure of their meadows.

The culture is both of corn and pasturage, of large crops of wheat, hay and abundance of cattle; these also, as well as the horses, the best breed in America and generally fine animals. The industry of the Germans supported by so rich a soil seems to leave no object unaccomplished, and we only want the hedge rows and finished neatness of English farming, to make the country one of the finest agricultural districts in the world.

In 10 miles we reach Witmer's Inn, a large brick building and like the rest forming a kind of a Caravanserai. Witmer has also a store, a large farm, and is a man of no small consequence. In his shirt and trousers and hands rough with work he enquires the news and talks over the politics of the day with no small degree of sense and acuteness. He tells me that his grandfather[39] came from Switzerland and bought the land here about 100 years ago. He considers *just here* one of the most choice parts of this valley; the lands generally bring $100 per acre.

At the sixty milestone and two miles from Lancaster we cross the Conestoga River which is about 100 yards wide over a handsome bridge of seven stone arches, the arches lined with marble. This bridge was built at his own expense by Jacob Witmer [brother to the one mentioned above] who has been repeatedly a member for the county in the Legislature.

We soon enter Lancaster which is the largest inland town of the United States and now the seat of government for Pennsylvania [Mr. Hamilton then governor of Pennsylvania for the Penns]. It soon became a thriving town "from being the center of so rich a country." Another Mr. Hamilton of the Woodlands derives a ground rent from buildings and has large landed holdings around.

[39] The grandfather, Benjamin Witmer, lived between the two Philadelphia pikes in front of the Mellinger Church in the early twenties. Abraham built the bridge called by his name across the Conestoga east of the city. This inn was apparently on the northeast corner of the intersection of the turnpike in Paradise and the road from the Mennonite church. David Witmer also gave the grounds in 1806 for the present Mennonite church site. Cf. M. G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* (Scottdale, 1931), 83.

[39a] Abraham Witmer, a cousin, built the first span across the Conestoga at Bridgeport in 1800 at his own expense.

Watson in 1830 claims:[40]

The best lands in Lancaster County and deemed in general the finest farms in the State are those possessed by the German families.

Bancroft in 1834[41] can perceive that the Germans, especially of the border of the Rhine, thronged to America in such numbers that in the course of a century, preserving their line of rural life, they appropriated much of the very best land from the Mohawk to the Valley of Virginia.

Another traveller[42] in 1836, in trying the new railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia, writes, as she enters the County at Gap

The country between Philadelphia and Lancaster is excelled by none in the United States in cultivation, fertility and beauty. It is occupied by a thrifty and industrious population whose comfortable farm houses and substantial and capacious stone barns are scattered in every direction. (All the barns, houses, mills and bridges were of stone, which speak of solidity, characteristic of the state.)

Trego in 1843 says:[43]

The Germans wisely chose some of the best land in the state, where they soon made themselves comfortable and next grew quietly rich. The German population of Pennsylvania, naturally increasing and augmented by continual accessions from the Fatherland, has spread over a large portion of the State, still inheriting the economy and prudent foresight of their ancestors, and generally establishing themselves on the most fertile soil . . . It [Lancaster] is one of the finest regions in the state and has been justly called "The garden of Pennsylvania."

In 1875 Rupp says:[44]

The Germans were principally farmers. They depended more upon themselves than upon others. They wielded the mattock, the axe and the maul, and by the power of brawny arms rooted up the grubs, removed the saplings, felled the majestic oaks, laid low the towering hickory, prostrated where they grew the walnut, poplar, chestnut, cleaved such as suited the purpose into rails for fences, persevered untiringly until the forest was changed into arable field.

Diffenderfer describes the Pennsylvania-German agricultural practices as follows:[45]

The land was treated even as their cattle were plentifully and carefully. The result is there are no deserted farms and ruined farmhouses as may be seen

[40] John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia,* II, (Phila., 1887), 148.

[41] George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1834) I, 83-84.

[42] *Pleasant Peregrinations Through the Prettiest Parts of Pennsylvania by Peregrin Prolix,* (Phila., 1836) 39, 40. She further interestingly describes the eight hour trip by steam and horses from Philadelphia to Lancaster.

[43] C. B. Trego, *Geography of Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1843), 12.

[44] I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names* (Phila., 1876), 11.

[45] F. R. Diffenderfer, *The German Immigration into Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1900), 136-137, 77, 121. (*Proceedings,* Pennsylvania German Society, X)

in New England . . . Look at the great barns in which their crops are stored and their cattle housed! Large as they are, they are generally inadequate to contain the farm products, and a dozen grain and hay ricks are built elsewhere on the farm until the grain can be threshed. Nor is the barn the only building beside the dwelling house on the farm; sheds, stables, and other out-houses abound until the farmer's home resembles a hamlet in itself. All the modern farm machinery, and that too of the best possible type is there; cunning devices of mankind that rob labor of half its terrors . . . .
Does Pennsylvania not stand peerless, an Empire Republic, largely the result of the German immigration? . . . .
They were the best and most successful farmers Pennsylvania had during the eighteenth century, just as they are the most successful farmers in the United States today.

Bolles[46] in 1890 hails them for five characteristics: "economy, industry, frugality, and simplicity of dress and in their church houses."

In addressing the Pennsylvania German Society in 1899 Richards said in part:[47]

In all that they did they were moved by one great irresistible desire and that was the love of home . . . Now that they had found their home, they were content to abide on it as a very garden spot and horn of plenty from Providence . . . Because the Germans were truly in earnest, did they persevere until they have spread abroad over the entire land supplanting their less stable brethren of other nationalities. Before even the break of day during the heat of the noon-day sun they toiled on, and until its rays had disappeared beneath the western horizon when darkness made work impossible, and then they sought their needed rest in slumber, but not before each little family had gathered about its altar to sing their hymn of praise and invoke the same Divine blessing upon their future undertaking, which had been showered upon their past.

Other settlers have toiled and struggled, but it may well be asked what other settlers can show an equal result to these Palatine immigrants within the same length of time. Hardly had a decade of time elapsed when on all sides were to be seen flourishing farms with fields of waving grain, orchards laden with fruit, and pastures filled with well conditioned domestic animals. The temporary log house has given place to a two story stone structure, a most durable, commodious and comfortable home; in place of the shedding hurriedly erected, now stands the great red barn, upon its stone base, with its overhanging frame super structure, bursting with plenty, and everywhere are scattered the many little adjuncts of prosperity and comfort. How well the fathers then built is evidenced by the existence of scores of those buildings still home-like and inviting as of old.

I have limited these selections of cross sections of our agricultural life largely to keen observers in the early formative years of Lancaster history. Lancaster Mennonites of today are but reaping what their forefathers have sown, provided they are continuing in

[46] Albert S. Bolles, *Pennsylvania: Province and State* (2 Vols. N. Y., 1899) I, 121.
[47] M. H. Richards, *The German Emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1899), 413-14, (*Proceedings,* Pennsylvania German Society, IX)

their footsteps. A few additional traits may be pointed out. Their use of rotation without fallowing[48] and the preservation of barn yard manures were fundamental from the start. They always availed themselves of changes in practices regarding crops and livestock or the handling of them, after they had been proven practical for their conditions and their religious life, though they were never radical. Following the footsteps of their ancestors, applying themselves to it and nothing non-agricultural, no farmer ever failed in Lancaster County. There has never been a year of famine here at least for 150 years. The latter is partially due to a remarkable diversification—more than 200 years old.

Some may call it "biases" (Rush), but I call it God, who would bring his children out of the cauldron of Europe to a land where they can have "the best farms, the stateliest barns and the sleekest cattle"[49] directly knit to their religious forms of worship, rules and life, a land where their religious and agricultural sociology were so beautifully and practically blended that the "Garden Spot of America" has been the leader,[50] the admiration and the pattern of all America. In addition her sons carried this pattern into 800 communities throughout this Union[51]—among the best parts of America today.

It is worthy of note that recently historians and sociologists are increasingly interested in sympathetically examining this religio-agricultural pattern of life which has stood the test for 420 years. Three typical recent quotations will suffice to bring this review to a close.

The Pennsylvania Germans were by far the best husbandmen in America.[52] Hard labor on the farms was in any case one factor in the superiority, and it was no small matter in a country where the overwhelming majority made their living from the soil. In a word these people were in many ways the most progressive of Americans in what for more than two centuries was

[48] In England in 1784 the fields of England were barren one year in seven. Charles Cist, *Summary View of Courses of Crops in Husbandry of England and Maryland* (1784). In America "rest is noxious," for rest is "a friend to weeds and a hardness of the ground which cannot belong to culture or improvement. . . . It untills itself. Ground neglected, so that it rests, settles and returns to its wonted hardness." Variety is beneficial to ground and crops. Yet in Maryland the ground was fallow eighteen months out of each three year period; but little rotation too. Neither true in Lancaster County.

[48a] So observed Bishop Jacob N. Brubacker, Moderator of the Lancaster Conference 1883-1913.

[49] Kuhns, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[50] In value of agricultural products, at no time was Lancaster leadership challenged until the 1910 census. Large Los Angeles County, California, 4.4 times the size, tried to surmount it, but in the final analysis lost in the 1940 census.

[51] The figure is that of H. Frank Eshleman, a Lancaster attorney-historian, given verbally to the present writer.

[52] S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager, *Growth of the American Republic,* (N.Y., 1937).

the chief national occupation. Trade as well as agriculture profited thereby. Perhaps the most conspicuous illustration of this is to be found in the growth of the port of Philadelphia, due originally in large measure to the export of grain and other foods from the "Dutch" counties up-state. Other colonial ports were older and were located on the coast, while the Quaker City lay one hundred miles from the sea, up a river that was none too navigable. Yet its trade and population, surmounting these handicaps, increased beyond those of any other American city by the mid-eighteenth century, and have remained greater than those of any other Atlantic port except New York to this day . . . .[53]

The often ridiculed and sometimes despised Pennsylvania Dutchman has been one of the most valuable factors in the development of the mighty republic that has arisen on the North American Continent, and he deserves the fullest appreciation and gratitude.[54]

A verse from Lloyd Mifflen's "Pioneer of Peace," written in 1910 for the 200th anniversary of the coming of the Mennonites to Lancaster County, forms a fitting conclusion for this discussion.[55]

Like some grave Patriarch of old he stands
Among the sheaves—far from the town's embroil—
Bearded and gray, true sovereign of the soil;
A later Boaz, at whose wise commands,
The harvest turns to gold. Lord of the wide lands—
Mellowed by cycles of unending moil
He typifies the dignity of toil,
As earth attests the power of his hands.
Driven by persecution to our soil,
A man of peace and Christian tolerance rare,
With tranquil faith, he through life's tumult goes,
Nor ever turns the needy from his door;
While through the years of patient work and prayer
He makes the valley blossom as the rose.

[53] *The Pennsylvania Germans,* 244.

[54] Schurz, *History of German Immigration in U.S.,* 17.

[55] *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society,* Vol. 14, 236. (Read at Willow Street monument unveiling in 1910.)

THREE AMISH NOVELS*

ELIZABETH HORSCH BENDER

The Amish, with their distinctive culture and tradition, so radically different from our modern American culture, lend themselves readily to fictional treatment. That, in spite of this, the Amish theme has been so little used in American literature, must be due in part at least to the general ignorance of the group in literary circles. It was not until the rise of local color interest in fiction, which has continued in popularity well into the twentieth century, that any attention was paid to them, and even then the use of the theme was slight. A total of three novels and two short stories is all that can be claimed of any literary merit. They are: novels—*Sabina, A Story of the Amish* (1905) by Helen R. Martin, *Straw in the Wind* (1937) by Ruth Lininger Dobson, *Rosanna of the Amish* (1940) by Joseph W. Yoder; short stories—*The Nonresistance of Amos* (1907) by Reginald Wright Kauffman, and *The Amishman* (1925) by Elsie Singmaster. Recently there has been a sudden flood of Amish juveniles, five altogether since 1937. The list is as follows: *Henner's Lydia* (1937) by Marguerite de Angeli; *Little Amish Schoolhouse* (1939) by Ella Maie Seyfert; *Lovina, A Story of the Amish* (1940) by Katherine Milhous; *Amish Moving Day* (1942) by Ella Maie Seyfert, and *Yoni Wondernose* (1944) by Marguerite de Angeli. It will be the purpose of this paper to review and criticise briefly the three novels.

The first of the three novels about the Amish was written by Helen R. Martin, entitled *Sabina, A Story of the Amish.* It was published in 1905, one year after the publication by the same author of *Tillie: A Mennonite Maid. Tillie* established Mrs. Martin's popularity as a writer of Pennsylvania-German local color stories, and was "an almost instantaneous success everywhere but in Pennsylvania." It went through twenty editions, and was made into a motion picture. (See *Pennsylvania German Literature* by Earl F. Robacker (1943), Chapter VI, "The Local Color Period: 1902 to 1928.) In view of the enormous success of *Tillie* it could be expected that Mrs. Martin would try her hand in another description of "the plain people" for the benefit of an avid reading public. *Sabina, A Story of the Amish,* is this attempt.

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The plot of *Sabina* is simple, though somewhat melodramatic. The Amish family Wilt take on as a boarder a young artist who is interested in "local color" sketches. By this device the author is enabled to present Amish life through the eyes of a cultured "outsider," who finds it very primitive indeed. The daughter, Sabina, is a beautiful girl of eighteen, who has the occult gift of being able to foresee disaster and death in the family.

> Levi, the father, mild as he appeared, ruled his family in quite the old patriarchal fashion; and his strict though gentle discipline extended even to his fair eldest daughter.
>
> . . .
>
> Ulmer Popple, her suitor, was rather an exception to the average mild and gentle-spirited Amishman in his tendency to conceit, his proneness to brag of his wealth and to domineer.

Sabina falls in love with the artist, who is "quite astonished at the depth of his feeling" for her. Sabina's brother Aaron is engaged to the Lutheran Elephena. It is assumed that she will "turn plain" when she marries him, and to this her mother objects so bitterly that she pours boiling water on Aaron and threatens greater violence to both if they ever marry. Sabina has a premonition of disaster, which is fulfilled when soon after the wedding Elephena dies. "Aaron's stunned, wordless grief was like the hurt of a wounded animal." Like a mad woman his mother-in-law bursts into the house and finds on the shelf a bottle of arsenic. In vain Aaron insists that he has used it only on his horse. When the coroner finds arsenic in the stomach of the dead girl, it takes all the ingenuity of the artist (who suddenly reveals that he has the degree of Doctor of Science) to discover just at the moment the police set out to arrest Aaron, that the arsenic was used by the embalmer.

After two years the artist returns, finds Sabina married to Ulmer, a sort of amnesia covering the entire period of his connection with the family, her psychic gift gone and her two babies claiming her undivided attention.

In general, the story of *Sabina* follows the pattern of all of Mrs. Martin's novels, which may be described as follows: her Pennsylvania Germans uncouth and incapable of civilization, their "public schools capable of teaching nothing and the . . . children incapable of being taught. . . , the grasping, obstinate father; the equally heavy, loutish suitor; the sodden resigned mother or stepmother; and the attractive young girl who in no time at all rises superior to her surroundings and makes a good marriage to an attractive outsider, usually a New Englander" (Robacker). It follows that her characterizations are shallow, the situations and

episodes forced. All problems are avoided or side-stepped in order to produce the inevitable "happy ending."

Mrs. Martin's novels about the Amish and Mennonites deviate in a few details from this general pattern. Though her "plain" characters share in the uncouthness of her Pennsylvania Germans, they are never used as the "villains" of the story. In *Sabina* there is no grasping, hard-hearted father (Elephena's "mom" takes that place), no crushed or down-trodden wife and mother, and no exploited daughter among the Wilts. Again, the marriage of the daughter to the superior outsider not being feasible in this case, Mrs. Martin used the device of the psychic gift and amnesia to prevent an unhappy ending.

The family life as well as the religious life of the Amish receives a by no means unsympathetic treatment in *Sabina.* Though Mrs. Martin has no interest in any distinctive doctrine from any point of view other than its entertainment appeal and therefore treats it somewhat facetiously, nevertheless she does seem to recognize that their way of life has put a definite stamp on personality and character.

In spite of its great popularity at the time of its publication, *Sabina* is of little literary value; its only significance lies in its picture of an Amish family in an Amish community: the gentle, but patriarchal discipline, the primitive way of living, and the social customs of courtship, marriage, and funerals; and their conservatism and stolidity in social as well as religious life.

In 1937 appeared the second Amish novel, *Straw in the Wind,* by Ruth Lininger Dobson. This novel has aroused considerable interest in the Goshen community, among Mennonite and non-Mennonite readers alike, for it is a "local color" story describing the Amish of the Middlebury region just east of Goshen, and using actual names of towns like Honeyville, Millersburg, and Goshen. Because the author grew up in Middlebury, on the edge of the Amish settlement, the unwary reader naturally assumes that her account of these people must be reliable. The fact that the novel is important enough to have won the major award in the Hopwood Contest in Fiction for 1936 at the University of Michigan, a contest sponsored by the faculty, as well as the fact that it has been popular enough to enjoy several printings, warrants careful examination of the story and the impressions it leaves about the Amish way of life.

The protagonist of the novel is Moses Bontrager, an Amish bishop, and the chief characters are the members of his large family, who are ranged in varying degrees of submission or rebellion to his

hard, domineering will. His wife, Sarah, has long since given up any personal feeling at all. His brother Ezra, unmarried—actually the counterpart of Moses—is a man of sensitive feeling and artistic sense, which he must, however, rigidly suppress. The two oldest sons, married and settled on land adjoining the homestead, come to the house every morning for instructions, for Moses has the title to all this land and directs every detail of its cultivation. Neri, Moses' favorite, is the only one of his sons to resent the ridicule the Amish costume excites in town and longs for money instead of more land to wipe out the hated distinctions. Rebecca is in love with Eli Hostetler, the only son of Tobias, the "Pinky,"* who owns several acres of valuable mint land adjoining Moses' farm, which Moses covets. The usual and logical method of acquiring this land, namely through marriage, is impossible in this case, because Tobias is a "Pinky."

On the morning with which the story opens, Moses as usual calls the family into the living room and reads a long passage from the German Bible—even though only Ezra understands the language —and demands in a long prayer that the business of the day be prospered. The business he has in mind is another attempt to purchase Tobias's mint land. In this he fails, for Tobias, though mortally ill, refuses to sell. On his way home a report reaches his ears that his daughter Polly, who is a maid in a home in Millersburg, has been guilty of watching a dance. He unceremoniously hurries her home in contemptuous disregard of the embarrassment of her employer. To Polly he says in sullen anger:

> Myself I ain't besoilin' with conversationin' with the Devil's children. Be a prayin' over your sinful, pleasurin' ways aforen the Lord, He strikes you down. To home still the Lord will direction me how you should be punished.

He banishes her to her room and in the evening calls her before the family and admonishes her thus:

> . . . Like a woman of the Devil even cavortin' around. . . . . Pleasurin' yourself in sin thouten a thought of the word of God. Repent still fur to escape the perishment of the wrath of the Lord. Repent!

When Polly says simply that she feels no sin in her heart, Moses furiously sends her back to her room, to stay there until Sunday; then she is to make her confession to the brethren at the service and a week later "marriage up" with Phineas, a most unattractive elderly widower.

Several members of the family surreptitiously speak to Polly

* "Pinky" means a member of a more progressive Amish Mennonite branch.

in her isolation, among them Ezra. In genuine compassion he tells her of his own experience when, as a young man, he was compelled to promise under oath in a public confession to desist from his sinful desires (interest in opera).

At the Sunday service Polly again refuses to confess. In the tense stillness Moses says:

> The sin still for which foregiveness ain't given, makes you an outcast rejected of God and man. From the fellowship of the Church, I cast you off still and already to the Devil and all his angels I commit you.

He continues in a sort of cruel inspiration:

> Already yet to the bottomless pit, a daughter of Jezebel is cast. . . . Big enough, too, hell is fur to receive all them that pleasure themselves likewise after the Devil. . . . Burnt blacken like your souls even, the fires of hell will scorch you still. . . . Burn, burn you will forever, iffen the wrath of the Lord you shall kindle with your hankerin' after pleasurement.

When the family gets home in the afternoon, Polly is gone.

When Sarah takes to her bed with an incurable disease, Moses, unsympathetic, considers it only a lazy whim. Rebecca summons Devil John to powwow. Moses has the veterinarian and finally even a doctor look her over, but she dies soon after with the words, "Ach, such prettiness." At the funeral the women of the church moan and wail, with an occasional piercing sob. Rebecca and Ezra truly miss her. Moses is merely annoyed.

Moses sells his mint oil to good advantage and hides the hard cash he has received under the floor, intending to use it to compel Tobias to sell his land. During the night Neri disappears with it. The blow is fatal to Moses—not the discovery that his son is a scoundrel and lost to the family, but the loss of his power to add Tobias's few acres of mint land to his own already extensive holdings. Thus the story ends.

Mrs. Dobson's theme of the tyrannical father who sacrifices his family, his friends, and his own life to the acquisition of wealth is not a new one. Such fathers are possibly to be found in any group, religious or otherwise, hence among the Amish as well. I know of none. What is unfair about the use of the theme in a "local color" novel is that the uninitiated reader accepts it as a part of the "local color"; hence as typical of the Amish. Even professional literary critics are victims of the air of authenticity of the book. Two excerpts from reviews will illustrate this.

R. C. Feld in "Books," February 7, 1937:

> As a fictionized study of the manners and customs and speech of a little known religious sect, it is worthy of attention: as a novel, it is weak

both in plot and style. . . . There is a clear ring of integrity in Miss Dobson's description of the clothing of the Amish sect, its religious services, its marriage customs, its food, its funerals and its speech. For these contributions, one is grateful to her.

And Stanley Young in the "New York Times," February 21, 1937:

Miss Dobson . . . appears to have full knowledge of this strange, rural cranny of American life.

At this point let us grant that Mrs. Dobson's descriptions of the Amish costumes and houses—things easily observed in the Goshen community—are authentic. And to the extent that the author has followed John Umble's account of the Amish in Union County, Pennsylvania, as published in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* in 1933, her description of their religious services, excommunications, and funerals is also true. It is when she allows her imagination to add fancy to facts that the distortion of motives and character takes place. (Only one error, and that one minor, results from the author's following Mr. Umble's account: whereas the Amish of Union County, Pennsylvania, of fifty years ago may have used the hymn "O Gott Vater, Wir Preisen Dich" as the opening hymn, those around Goshen and in Iowa invariably use it as the second hymn.)

In pointing out specific incongruities let us consider first the dialect, since anybody who knows Pennsylvania Dutch could have checked and corrected it, had Mrs. Dobson consulted such a person. Her Amish use the most atrocious English, probably the worst ever used in the United States. It is a mixture of "Dutch," Italian, Irish, and some that has never been heard before. In addition to what I have already quoted a few examples will make this clear.

"Ya, 'tis so and what a fine morning it makes out," says Ezra.

"Not much even would I be wishful fur to be wearing old Tobe's shoes today."

"Find the dishes dirty" becomes "find the dishes a dirtyin'."

"My word, she is give" means "I have given my word."

Moses says to Mrs. Hostetler, "Nein. Tobias, I aim fur to see."

She replies: "A sleepin' he is yet. Such pain in the night he had as how not to let him have never a moment in peace. All the night yet I fetched hot bricks but the pain be too fur in his bones to retch it."

Tobe, overhearing, asks, "Martha, who you speak at?" And to Moses he says, "Brung yourself up a chair."

These atrocities, found on every page, are of course lost on one who is not familiar with the "Dutch" idiom in the English of the Pennsylvania Germans. To the unknowing they probably sound authentic, but to one who knows any German, even Pennsylvania German, they need no further analysis.

In the first place the language of the Amish among themselves is always German or Pennsylvania-German. Religious services are conducted exclusively in the German language. When they do speak English to those of us who do not speak their preferred language, it does indeed contain some Germanisms, such as "his hair are" for "his hair is"; "it wonders me" for "I wonder" or "I am surprised"; "he knocked his head open" for "he cut his scalp", an extreme example that sounds humorous to unaccustomed ears. A few of these are used in the story. But iffen for if, aforen for before, thouten for without, marriage up with or wife up with for marry, conversationin', and many other words are absolute invention on the part of the author. "Kreistle" means to disgust in the sense of sickening, not to vex or anger or annoy, as Mrs. Dobson thinks. We draw the very obvious conclusion that the language, in spite of what the reviewers may say, is not authentic.

If the author's understanding of the spoken language of the Amish, which is a matter of the physical senses, is garbled, it should not be too surprising to find that her interpretations of religious services, which depend on historical insight and a sympathetic willingness to read the meaning behind outward ceremonies, would likewise be undependable. A few of the more glaring discrepancies will be noted.

An utter absurdity is the oath required of Ezra in confessing his sin. Nearly everybody knows that the Mennonites and Amish will under no circumstances take an oath, obeying literally Jesus' command, "Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay. Whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." An error of this kind is inexcusable in one who attempts to write a major work about the Amish.

In regard to the disciplinary procedure with Polly, the story is also so overdrawn as to become a caricature rather than a realistic treatment of the Amish teaching. I discussed this matter with one of the senior Amish bishops living near Middlebury, and was assured that Mrs. Dobson's picture is completely false. The offense of listening to "dance music" for a few minutes would call for no official censure at all, or at most a private reprimand. But for the sake of the argument, let us assume that Polly has been guilty of some serious moral transgression. It is true that in extreme cases

they use the formula that since the unrepentant person has cut himself off from the communion of the church, he is "dem Teufel und all seinen Engeln übergeben." This is not a curse, however. It is not the wish of the bishop upon the accused, but rather the sorrowful statement of a fact. Though Mrs. Dobson has given this one quotation correctly, the lurid setting into which she places it entirely distorts its meaning. In an Amish excommunication there is no further sermon on the subject, nor any gloating pleasure like that of Moses. The excommunicated person is henceforth "shunned," to be sure, but not to the extent that other members may not talk to him, for the purpose of the shunning is to bring the offender to see his error and return to the brotherhood. Members are to accept no help from him, but must aid him whenever possible. In as compact a society as the usual Amish community, this procedure may be expected to be effective. The ban is not carried out to the extent of forbidding a "Pinky" to assist at a barn-raising. Moses' bigoted attitude is unthinkable and has no basis in Amish tradition or practice.

Some minor points of criticism must also be mentioned. The wailing and shrieking of the women at the funeral is an anomaly, for the Amish are most stolid in religious as well as social relationships. Again, no Amishman would insult a woman by calling her a "painted Jezebel." The Amish do not in any way concern themselves with the conduct of the "world's people," and when addressed are always courteous. A wealthy Amishman hiding his money under the floor, or refusing to accept any legal tender but hard cash is incredible, as the Goshen bankers could have told Mrs. Dobson. A dozen other similar points could be listed.

The chief anomaly lies in the character of Moses. Let us grant that it may be possible to find an avaricious Amish father like Moses, who sacrifices everything—his own life included—to the acquisition of land. But in his character as an Amish bishop the picture is beyond the realm of possibility. His attitude in the excommunication of Polly has already been discussed. An Amish bishop who would curse a sick neighbor for any reason at all would find himself excommunicated. Witness the scene when Moses visits Tobias to buy his land:

> [Moses] rose threateningly, his face inflamed with fanatic intolerance. "The curse of the Lord on you an—"
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> . . . .
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> "Dying' ya will be soon, you got the look of it on you. Afeard to facen the Lord you should be with the sin of the Pinkies on you thouten additioning your evilness."

Concerning the structure of the novel, it should be said that too many incidents are artificially introduced. Thus Fanny's baby is brought into the picture to weave powwowing into the novel. We are not informed whether she recovered or not; the mother was not greatly concerned. We assume, however, that she did recover, for we are casually told later that she was busy trying to pull off her cap during church services. The reader is deeply interested in Polly after her dramatic experience in church, but must wait in suspense until the very end of the story, where we are informed that she is happily married to a superior "outsider." Not once is she mentioned in the intervening chapters.

Even the ordinary virtues of the Amish are turned into vices. The patriarchal discipline of the Amish home becomes despotism. The desire for land is turned to a selfish obsession, whereas the land is actually needed to keep their large families on the farm. Sons do tend to buy land adjoining the home farm, not because the father must domineer, but because family solidarity is very strong among the Amish.

In contrast with Mrs. Martin's *Sabina,* all the material of which could have been presented to better advantage as a short story and which has no significant plot, Mrs. Dobson's book does contain possibilities for the development of a tragedy. The author evidently tried to develop the novel along tragic lines, in permitting the main character Moses—through his greed for land—to destroy the family and community. But the novel can hardly be considered a tragedy, for we can never regard Moses as a hero to be admired; he is not powerful enough to excite our fear; we feel only contempt for his meanness. It would have been possible to develop the novel as a deterioration of the character of Moses; but this becomes difficult when all the faults are placed in one character (Moses) and all the virtues in a minor character (Ezra). A great man, in whom generous tendencies combat with the avarice, could well be destroyed at the end of the story by one force or the other. As it is, it is hardly credible that a man as wealthy as Moses would be killed by the loss of some hard cash only.

We would not, of course, limit a writer of imaginative literature to the presentation of bare facts. In this case, however, every reader of the book to whom I have spoken about it, unless he happened to know the Amish intimately, took this to be "one side" of the Amish way of life; for the reader expects even of a novelist that he will not distort his picture, however much he may add from

his imagination. Mrs. Dobson's work can have only a negative effect on relations between the Amish and the "outside world."

The third and last book about the Amish is the idyllic *Rosanna of the Amish,* by Joseph W. Yoder, 1940. This book has been so capably analyzed from the Mennonite point of view by John Umble in his excellent review of it in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* of July, 1941, that I shall not attempt to add to it. What follows is an excerpt from Mr. Umble's review:

Amish readers of such books as *Straw in the Wind* have felt for a number of years that the reading public needed a book that would tell the truth about the Amish with sympathy. Such a book is *Rosanna of the Amish,* and the author, J. W. Yoder, is peculiarly fitted to write it. Born of Amish parents and reared in an Amish community in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, he has not only the necessary information and experience, but also the requisite appreciation and understanding of the Amish background and heritage.

His mother, an Irish-Catholic orphan girl, was left at nine days of age in the care of an Amish maiden lady who reared her tiny charge in an Amish community, imbued her with principles of Amish life and culture, saw her voluntarily choose to unite with the Amish church, saw her baptized into the Amish faith, saw her married to a young Amishman, and finally, saw her rear an Amish family. This orphan girl, Rosanna, youngest daughter of the Irish-Catholic immigrants, Pat McGonegal and Bridget O'Connor, was the author's mother. And *Rosanna of the Amish* is her life story.

In writing his book, the author has done an unusual piece of work. He makes no attempt to write historical fiction. The book is true, not only in the major outlines of the story and in its general spirit and viewpoint, but also in its historical and biographical data.

The author's method has distinct advantages. Many of his friends and relatives concerning whom he writes are still living. It is necessary, therefore, that he tell the truth about them. Through the use of this method he gains accuracy and a certain personal touch which would be lacking even in the most faithful presentation of historical fiction. The method seems, however, to have one disadvantage. It prevents the author from entire frankness in the presentation of unpleasant details. These he refuses to gloss over. He simply omits them. His affection and respect for his Amish friends and neighbors restrain him from probing beneath the surface to bring to light the unlovely aspects of human experience present, occasionally, even in an Amish utopia.

But aside from this one criticism, the work deserves great praise. In its presentation of the Christian character of the Amishman, his kindness and hospitality, his openhanded entertainment of the stranger or wanderer, his industry, his energy, his proverbial good health, his deep devotion to his religion, his implicit faith in God, his affection for his wife and children, his freedom from worry and care, his conviction that in this world he is a stranger and pilgrim on his way to the Heavenly City—in all these, the book is not only faithful in its portrayal, but is enthusiastically and sympathetically so. . . .

Yoder emphasizes the ability of both men and women to perform strenuous physical labor. Rosanna's brother . . . "marveled at how much she did and how little it seemed to tire her. She milked the cows . . . worked in the garden, . . . fed the chickens and gathered the eggs, washed, ironed,

baked, and even helped in the harvest field sometimes. When he asked Rosanna whether she did not get tired, she laughed and said, 'Oh, a little sometimes, but . . . you get used to it and don't mind it.' . . . Now that she was becoming a young woman she enjoyed the reputation of being a good worker—a great satisfaction to her."

Related to this idea is the Amishman's pride in his economic self-sufficiency. . . . Yoder correctly portrays the Amishman as skilled in animal husbandry, soil conservation and crop feeding, and in farm management. He succeeds as a farmer because he has fine intelligence, simple, inexpensive tastes, simple joys, and a huge capacity for hard work.

The author catches another phase of the Amish character, one which is often overlooked. However staid and quiet, even bashful, the Amishman may seem to the casual observer, in his home life and in his social relationships he is happy and usually fond of a good joke. . . . Nearly every page contains some form of the word *joy* or *happiness* or *contentment* or at least implies that sentiment in some way. . . .

The author also presents the Amish eagerness to do right and his feeling that it is important to . . . have the approval of his . . . fellow church members. . . . Part of Rosanna's happiness in her marriage was the consciousness that she had married into a good family, "highly respected by everybody, in good standing in the church, comfortable in material things, and above all, happy and content in each other's presence."

. . . Here are presented, with accuracy of detail, both the social customs and the religious customs of the group: . . . the method of performing the ordinances, . . . all details connected with the courtship. . . and wedding, . . . the simple burial that requires neither undertaker . . . nor commercial casket manufacturer. . . . An aged, unlearned reader in a western state . . . said with feeling, "It is all so true to life that it makes me homesick for Pennsylvania."

In addition to Mr. Umble's critique, a few sentences from Professor Robacker's book *Pennsylvania German Literature* (1943) should be of interest:

. . . *Rosanna of the Amish* . . . possesses a sheer distinction of style. . . . One of the tenets of the Amish religion is a wholesome regard for the truth, a characteristic so widely recognized in Pennsylvania that written . . . contracts among the Amish are all but unknown: an Amishman's word has been proved to be as good as his bond. Something of this quality of integrity is to be found in Yoder's book. . . . Better than any fictional work has done, the book gives an inside account of Amish life.

In conclusion a comparison of the three novels using the Amish theme may be of some value. The first two works of this group of three are genuine novels, the third is a true story. *Sabina, A Story of the Amish* presents a not too unfavorable picture of the Amish in the author's general theme of the narrowness of the Pennsylvania Germans. Her picture is facetious, but not malicious. Beyond its descriptive tendency it is of very little value. *Straw in the Wind* knows only the unpleasant side of Amish life. In order to present her unfavorable picture the author has resorted to major

distortion and a basic disregard of fact. It comes very near being malicious. *Rosanna of the Amish* is not a novel, but biography; it is not concerned with moral or ethical problems. It presents a crystal-clear and truthful picture of Amish life. Though the omission of all unpleasant incidents gives it a somewhat juvenile stamp, nevertheless it remains by far the most complete and reliable of the three books, and the most important.

THE AMISH AND MENNONITE THEME IN AMERICAN LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN*

MARY ROYER

The same year (1937) in which Dobson's *Straw in the Wind* appeared with its unpleasant and warped portrayal of Amish culture, there came to the American reading public, by way of the children's bookshelves, a beautiful "homey" story of the Lancaster County (Pa.) Amish called *Henner's Lydia,* written and illustrated by Marguerite de Angeli. A librarian in a public library located near the scene of *Straw in the Wind* voiced the sentiment of many readers when she said: "I am glad for this lovely illustrated story of the Amish people. It is much fairer to them than *Straw in the Wind.*"

Mrs. de Angeli in *Henner's Lydia* by story and by picture has helped both the children and the grownups in our country to know Amish children first of all as happy, natural children who play and work and go to school just as any children would, and whose parents love them just as affectionately as any other parents love their children. She then skillfully and sympathetically portrays their characteristic differences with such fine insight as to make their manner of life attractive and meaningful rather than repulsive or ludicrous to the reader or observer who is a stranger to Amish ways.

The author attempts to correct one current misconception when she tells how little Yonie was afraid to take a short cut through a certain man's pasture on the way home from school for fear he would "verhex" the children.

> "Oh, now come," said Lydia, climbing over the fence, "you know what Mom says." Yonie followed her over the fence into Nathan Straub's pasture. Yonie kept close to Lydia, and Lydia looked straight ahead, when they went past Nate's red barn.
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> The barn has round signs painted on the sides and on the ends. Nate's Johnny says they are "witch" signs to keep evil spirits away from the cattle. Of course there are no signs on Amish barns.
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> Mom laughs and says. "Keep clear of strangers, but there's no such thing as a witch, anyway."
>
> But one time, Nate's cows all died! Pop said, "Nate just didn't keep his barns clean. He's a shussle." (That means he's careless.)

The Amish grownups are portrayed as sympathetically as the children are. There is Pop who says, "People who don't finish things don't amount to much." Early in the summer when Lydia

*A paper read before the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, October, 1945.

had started a hooked rug, Pop had promised that she could go with him to Lancaster to market as soon as it was finished. The story centers about Lydia's efforts to finish this rug. Pop's beard and broad-brimmed hat do not keep him from knowing how to tuck a sleepy little girl into bed or give her a quarter for being "a smart helper." The fine understanding which both Pop and Mom show for their children makes the story most delightful. Lydia loves her mother's crisp white lawn cap and the way she smiles over her glasses. Mom says, "Teach children how to work while they are small, then when they get big they like to work."

Granny lives with Cousin Becky in her own part of Henner's house, the frame part built on to the two-hundred-year-old house. Granny tells Lydia about her ancestors who, as the author explains, came across the Atlantic Ocean "just as the Pilgrims did, because they wanted freedom to worship God in their own way." Granny recounts how the people "decided to dress very plainly and keep themselves away from worldly things, to help each other in every way, and to be always peaceful."

The children also are fond of the old Bishop who always carries "pocket candy" for the *kinder,* sometimes candy hearts with printing, and this kind Lydia likes best of all; but the Bishop never seems to notice the printing.

Not only is the story of *Henner's Lydia* pleasantly told, but it is excellently illustrated with numerous original lithographs in four colors which reflect the artist's feeling for place and people. Mrs. de Angeli made many of the actual sketches while visiting Pennsylvania Dutch farms. For reproduction she redrew them with pencil on glass, a method which preserved the delicate sketch quality of her illustrations. In *Henner's Lydia* the reader sees the beautiful old painted chest of Granny's, the big four-poster bed where Lydia and Nancy slept, the busy quilters with their nimble fingers, lunch time at school, Lavinia making applebutter in the enormous kettle, the well-filled cellar shelves, the springhouse, Henner's stall at market, the "store" dinner which Lydia ate in Lancaster, Ed Hertzler's mill, and bedtime after the busy exciting day when Lydia made her first trip to Lancaster.

Although the author has introduced some names which are not typically Amish and has not always made literal translations from the Pennsylvania Dutch, such items do not mar the total effect of this truly beautiful and well-executed picture-story book of an interesting people and their sturdy virtues. The scene of the story is in the heart of the Lancaster County Amish settlement

near New Holland, Pa. The schoolhouse in the story is the Stoltzfus school, located on the east side of the New Holland-Morgantown pike about half-way betweeen the two towns.

In 1939 another book of Mrs. de Angeli's appeared picturing the "plain" people, this time the Mennonites who lived near Germantown and Skippack in Pennsylvania around the year 1750, and who sent their children to school to one Christopher Dock. The old story of that fine-spirited, keen-minded first Mennonite schoolmaster in America is vividly retold and beautifully illustrated by Mrs. de Angeli in *Skippack School.* Among the many fine illustrations in color and in black and white there are reproductions of "Fractur-Schriften," picture writing or illuminated script, such as the master used to give the children as rewards for doing their best work. The strength of character and the gracious kindliness which the artist succeeds in putting into the faces of the schoolmaster and his friends, are more eloquent than many words in conveying to the reader the sincere spirit which motivated these settlers to be honest, industrious, Christian citizens of their beloved new land. Mrs. de Angeli's drawings and stories have performed a genuine service to a people so commonly misinterpreted, because of her discernment of their basic philosophy of life and her convincing presentation of it to a reading public which heretofore knew them largely through such narrowly conceived and prejudiced stories as *Tillie, A Mennonite Maid* and similar books.

In *Skippack School* the author also does what no Mennonite writer has accomplished so far; she has put into a charming picture book the treasured story of the pioneer Mennonite schoolmaster, Christopher Dock, who is credited with having been the first person in America to write a book on pedagogy and whose earnestness in his profession has been an inspiration to many a Mennonite schoolteacher throughout the succeeding years.

When the story opens, Eli Shrawder and his parents have but recently come to America with many other families "to find new homes where they could worship God in their own way." Eli was an energetic little boy who loved to chase squirrels and go fishing in the wilderness around his new home. He was also busy carving a bench for Mom like the one she had to leave behind in her old home. He hoped Mom would forget about school until he had finished the bench, but Mom had said, "Now to school you must go."

> He dragged his feet through cool leaves and grass, looked up through the tall trees and wished he could stay at home, even if it meant working in the fields, chopping wood for Mom; yes, even if it meant minding the baby

in her cradle! Anything would be better than going to this new school! "Probably," he thought, "the schoolmaster will be ugly and cross."

In telling how the schoolmaster won the heart of the boy Eli, the author reveals in an exquisite and historically accurate way the character of Christopher Dock as we know him. When Eli returns to school one afternoon for his forgotten lunch basket and finds the master on his knees praying aloud for him, the reader with Eli feels something rise up in his throat.

The story of this little eighteenth century boy and his schoolteacher has a strong appeal today not only for children but also for adult readers because of its simple, sincere, and unaffected portrayal in word and picture of a godly schoolmaster whose teaching must be ranked high by every modern rating scale because he was a master not only of the three R's but of the more difficult matter of human relationships.

In a third book *Yonie Wondernose,* Mrs. de Angeli uses the theme of the "plain" people and builds an attractive picture-story book around Lydia's seven-year-old brother Yonie who is curious about everything, but who in the excitement when the barn is struck by lightning and Pop is away from home, exhibits "the good common-sense characteristic of the Amish people" as one reviewer of the book puts it. Yonie and Pop had a secret—Pop had promised Yonie something when he was old enough to be trusted like a man. And now Yonie's brave rescue of the animals from the burning barn earns him not only Pop's words of praise, the pink runty pig, and the little black calf that was a "wondernose" too, but also the fulfillment of Pop's promise.

> "It takes a *man* to care for barn creatures and get them safe out of a fire. Soon it makes time for fall planting." He winked again at Yonie. "I need a man for that, too!" he said.
>
> Now Yonie knew that Pop would keep his promise! At last he could do what he had hoped for ever since Ammon left. He was big enough now to guide the two great work horses to harrow the field for winter wheat all by himself. He could see himself astride Star's back, high above the ground, above the fence posts, even above Pop's head! He could hear himself saying, "GEE! HAW!" and whichever way he said, the horses would go! He slipped his hand into Pop's big one.
>
> "Yonie Wondernose!" said Pop.

The strong spirit of mutual helpfulness among Pop's neighbors in the church is portrayed in word and picture when the Bishop and several neighboring farmers come to tell Pop that they will help him rebuild the barn and get things in order again.

At least one test of any book may rightly be the attitude of the people who are featured in the book toward the way in which they are portrayed; and we know by experience that the "plain" people, whether Amish or Mennonites, read Mrs. de Angeli's books about themselves with appreciation. Teachers who have shared these books with Amish children find that not only the children enjoy them, but also the parents and the neighbors who want to borrow the books, too.

A good test of the excellence of a book for children is also whether or not its workmanship and treatment appeal to adults as well as to children. Mrs. de Angeli's books on the Amish and Mennonites have been enjoyed by the "plain" people and their friends from three-year-olds to seventy-five-year-olds.

It will be of interest to know that Mrs. de Angeli has written and illustrated books portraying other culture groups in the American scene such as the Quakers in *Thee, Hannah,* the Polish Americans of a Pennsylvania mining town in *Up the Hill,* and the French Canadians of the Gaspé Peninsula in *Petite Suzanne.*

Ella Maie Seyfert, who was born and educated in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, has also given the children of our country kindly and true glimpses into the lives of Amish children in two books, *Little Amish Schoolhouse* and *Amish Moving Day.* Her stories are made vivid with the lively and attractive illustrations of Ninon MacNight. A reviewer says of Miss Seyfert, "Her years of teaching in the Lancaster schools gave her an interest in the children of the Amish people. She visited their homes, talked with their parents, and became an active sympathizer with their desire to keep their children in the religious faith and quaint customs of their forefathers. Her experiences among them inspired the highest respect for these humble, peace-loving tillers of the soil." It is not surprising then that the author of *Little Amish Schoolhouse* rejoices with her tiny Amish Martha that the little beginner need not ride far by bus to the big consolidated school but can walk with David and Jakie to their little Amish schoolhouse "yet a while."

In *Amish Moving Day* Martha and her family move from their Lancaster County farm to the new Amish colony in Maryland and find, just as Martha's friend Katie had predicted, that there are friendly people everywhere. The publishers of this book say: "Miss Seyfert has again presented an authentic picture in this delightful story of those sturdy, peace-loving people who are one of our finest types of Americans."

Another artist-author, Katherine Milhouse, has given the children a friendly picture-story of the Pennsylvania Dutch country in her book, *Lovina.* Again there is a willingness on the part of the author to give a kindly interpretation of the Amish people. For example, as we read and see the adventures of a set of plates bought in the days of George Washington by one Jacob Troyer, we come to the time when Lincoln was president, and there was a war. Says the author: "The Amish people did not believe in fighting, but they helped in other ways."

In all of the books reviewed there seems to be a conscious effort on the part of the writers and illustrators to portray the people in these minority groups as constructive, loyal citizens of the land which is dear to them because it has given them religious liberty. It must be more than co-incidental that in times like these we have had such unexpected interpreters of the "plain" people. It seems providential that previous to and during a great war these attractive children's books have been written, published, circulated through many libraries, sold from hundreds of bookstores, and received appreciatively by book reviewers and the reading public. Even the widely circulated *Weekly Reader,* a current events magazine for the elementary school, recently carried a sympathetic article and photograph of the Lancaster County Amish.

There are three things which we "plain" people may be reminded of by reading these books. The first is that being different does not make us either superior or inferior to others. Moreover, if our differences are honorable, we need not be ashamed of them; for they make us interesting to other honorable people who may be different from us. In the second place, if our differences have valid significance because they are rooted in basic truth, by the grace of God we should serve our generation through them. These are two lessons which our children need to learn early. And the third thing we should be reminded of is that we who belong to a minority group whose differences have been shown up by the spotlight of a national crisis and who have received such courteous consideration for our differences by those different from us—we especially ought to be understanding and sympathetic to the problems of other minority groups.

A part of this article appeared previously in the book review section of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* for April, 1941.

The books reviewed in the present article are:

Henner's Lydia. By Marguerite de Angeli. New York: Doubleday Doran and Co. 1937. $2.00.

Skippack School. By Marguerite de Angeli. New York: Doubleday Doran and Co. 1939. $2.00.

Yonie Wondernose. By Marguerite de Angeli. New York: Doubleday Doran and Co. 1944. $2.00.

Little Amish Schoolhouse. By Ella Maie Seyfert. Illustrated by Ninon MacKnight. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1939. $2.00.

Amish Moving Day. By Ella Maie Seyfert. Illustrated by Ninon MacNight. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942. $2.00.

Lovina. By Katherine Milhous. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1940. $1.50.

Book Reviews

Types of Modern Theology: Schleiermacher to Barth. By H. R. Mackintosh. Scribner's, 1937, $5.00.

Pascal, the great genius of epigram, once said that "In great men everything is great—their faults as well as their merits." This volume of Mackintosh is a marvelous survey of the great faults and great merits of theology since the 19th century. It delineates with brilliant clarity the stuff of which modern theologies are made; it reveals the roots of the liberal-rationalist-humanist fallacy with which theology is now struggling in the search for more Biblical synthesis. In some respects the book shows the danger of *any* theology in view of its powerfully persistent tendency to permit the great faults to swallow up the great merits. But, on the other hand, Mackintosh shows the amazing ability of Christian thought to correct its worst errors, an ability which is to be understood primarily as the providential guidance of our Heavenly Father. There is a kind of divine elusiveness about ultimate Christian truth which will always tend to defy a perfect theological synthesis since theology is simply faith trying to be intelligent about itself. Hence, to box this God-given truth in human categories of thought is a responsibility which must drive us to our knees in prayer oftener than it drives us into the cloisters of the library. Indeed it is a task infinitely challenging but deeply humbling.

In the introduction Mackintosh quickly surveys some of the more interesting highlights of the remarkable 19th century. He notes in a kind of profound Scotch puzzlement the preeminence of the German theologians as over against the English, (An American might be a more objective analyst of this point!) But, he concludes by what seems to be a rather sound conclusion that the Germans have usually possessed a more ponderous learning than the English with less ability for the maintenance of balance and direction. Then we are taken through a quick tour of some of the basic theological mountain peaks: while Luther had drawn religion upward, pietism drew it inward, sustaining vital religion during the later Reformation deluge; the major objection of rationalism to orthodoxy is original sin, a doctrine which Niebuhr has re-instated with such impressive brilliance; the German philosphers are shown making some questionable "deals" to win victories for faith, Kant being Exhibit A in removing knowledge to make room for belief. (Mackintosh denies that Kant is the philosopher of Protestantism.) In Fichte there is continued emphasis on duty as the definition of God, a good idea in the context of a totally healthy Biblical theology, a dangerous one isolated by itself. Moreover, Fichte finds the principle of unity in the ego, ending up with the need for a Saviour, an outcome amazingly common to the entire period covered by Mackintosh. Schelling is observed combining pantheism and theism in the notion of God as at once free and in subjection to development, a definitely Gnostic Christianity. The preliminary section ends with a notation concerning Hegel who fathered most of the nihilistic "isms" (at least on the philosophical side) now sweeping across the face of the earth. Hegel's finiteness and earthiness sapped the very important transcendental quality of Christianity. . . . So much for the early period.

Schleiermacher, "the one great theologian of the 19th century," is given initial consideration. He is aptly characterized as a preacher and teacher, uniting passion and reason. Religion, according to Schleiermacher, is experience: the faculty behind religion is feeling, hence, religion tends to be mere emotion. However, he puts somewhat more content into this concept than "mere emotion." For religion is the "feeling of absolute depend-

ence," a conception which comes very close to the very heart of true saintliness and prayer-centeredness; religion is "inner music." This great German theologian was greatly influenced by Spinoza and never fully settled his conflict between that root and traditional Christian belief. At the outset it is clear that Schleiermacher is destroying natural religion, making a profound basis for piety.

A deeper probing into Schleiermacher's theology reveals, on the other hand, how far it strayed from a truly Biblical theology. The divinity of Christ is exchanged for the uniqueness of Christ; the Old Testament is rather thoroughly ignored in the strong desire to overthrow legalism; a clear doctrine of the Trinity is exchanged for a shadowy doctrine of the Trinity which probably could not justify the use of the term at all; a clear doctrine of Creation is exchanged for a philosophy of Identity; sin as rebellion against God is dropped in favor of an unresolved conflict between sin as necessary and sin as avoidable; the doctrine of Original Sin is thrown overboard in favor of an analysis of the societal corporateness of sin. Thus out of all this emerges a Christ, magnificently God-conscious, sinless and assimitively powerful. At times it appears this new Christ is almost without humanity; at other moments it appears he is without the Incarnational divinity which was the cornerstone for the atoning power of the Calvary-crucified Saviour. In any case petitionary prayer does not belong in this scheme of things.

Mackintosh believes that Schleiermacher "takes both sides on every question." That there are many unresolved conflicts in his system. While there is something appealing in his wonderful sense of the beautiful in Christianity, he ends up by exchanging revelation (the very heart of Christian faith) for discovery; the word of God for the religious consciousness and the "not yet" of imperfection in place of sin. None of this trading will be acceptable to the evangelical Protestant seeking a genuine Biblical theology. But Schleiermacher remains greatly influential yet among the older modernists of America like Fosdick. But, significantly enough, very few of the younger theologians find much in Schleiermacher in the terms of a final synthesis.

Next attention is turned to Hegel, a man who disliked Schleiermacher. Hegel gives us a pantheistic monism or logical evolutionism. God is the essence of all finite minds. And, religion must be transposed into metaphysics. Thus faith has its path cleared by philosophy and then moves forward guided by its own impulse. Having done this, Hegel rejects the uniqueness of Christ, and the once-and-for-all nature of His mediation. History, to be sure, is the lotus of the Divine, yet no part is more significant than the other. Hence, dogma is replaced by myth which is the personification of a universal idea. (Even Niebuhr has not been able to accept dogma, rooting his whole system in myth somewhat in this sense, though perhaps a bit more literally.) Christianity thus becomes the absolute faith but at the expense of its bond with history. The problems of Hegel are his ignoring of God's transcendence, his total loss of the fear of the Lord and his minimizing of sin. The permanent gains are the idealistic defense of a spiritual interpretation and the affinity of man and God. The subsequent developments after Hegel showed his tremendous influence on Marxism and fascism, making him in some respects the most powerful influence of modern times. His role in distinctly Christian circles could now be set down as minor.

Next in this survey was Strauss, author of the famous "Life of Jesus." He illustrates the illusion of objectivity. He claimed the study of the Gospels with no prejudice whatsoever when, as Mackintosh suggests, he very definitely applies pantheistic monism to the Gospels. The Gospels are a group

of myths, the attributes of Christ belong to the race. While each individual is impure, mankind as a whole is perfect. Strauss takes us in the direction of materialism as all purely destructive criticism of the Scriptures eventually does. He is significant as the forerunner of the No. 1 cornerstone of modernism, namely, a very radical rejection of the inspiration and infallibility of the Bible. Protestant modernism never reached quite so blunt and crude a stage as Strauss, but in the seminaries, as contrasted with the local parishes where theology is never as blunt as in the classroom, it had a real affinity with Strauss and his later colleagues here and abroad.

The classic skeptic in theology, according to Mackintosh, is Feuerbach. Yet, the author displays his genuine Scotch sense of humor when he declares that one must never believe any German who says that he is an atheist. I suppose this is a way of saying that the German systems are too comprehensive to ignore such an omnipresent conviction as theism. Be that as it may, Feuerbach has enough skepticism to be convincing as a skeptic. Man, he says, is the measure of all things, theology is anthropology, anthropology is physiology, the Trinity is the hypostesized form of social impulse. Feuerbach persists in his belief that God is projected desire, his epistemology is sensationalist and, like the ivory-tower dweller, he ignores the facts of death and sin. While there are no positive contributions here for the Biblical theologian, it is an important example of a thinker who took many basic assumptions of modern scientific liberalism to their logical conclusion in theology. Few there were who sensed this ultimate destination of much modern thought in the church.

All this brings us to the other towering figure of German theology, Albrecht Ritschl, whose influence in America was probably greater than Schleiermacher because of his ethical and practical emphases. Ritschl was anti-pietistic, regarding pietism as a false revival of Romanism. He opposed speculative nationalism, excluding metaphysics from theology. He was anti-mystical, for he started not from consciousness but from the "Gospel" given in Jesus Christ. Significantly enough, he did not write on the Trinity, sacraments or eschatology. Apparently some problems can be solved by ignoring them!

Almost immediately we find the fallacies in this system now being annihilated by the foes of liberalism, whose most recent convert is none other than Charles Clayton Morrison. First in his utilitarian and mundane ethics, Ritschl destroys the uniqueness of Christ as mediator; second, in his optimism he ignores the true meaning of the Kingdom of God since he defines it (p. 151) as the *"moral unification of the human race through action prompted by universal love to our neighbor."* The Bible knows of no complete fulfillment in this sense. Ritschl contrasts theoretical and religious knowledge, seeing the value judgments in theology. He is vigorously opposed to an unhistorical view of God's work, believing that a religion which takes flight from historical realities becomes rationalism or mysticism.

Commenting on this Mackintosh delivers one of the finest gems which I have read in many months:

"If you want a picture of spiritual beggardy, contemplate the mind of man stripped of all its historical accumulations and sitting naked among the eternal truths of reason." (p. 156)

Despite his belief that Lutheran theology was the most perfect Biblical theology, Ritschl ignored many basic props of that system: he affirmed that God is love in utterly non-paradoxical terms *minus* God's wrath, punishment and holiness, a mistake which moralistic Protestantism persists in making; sin he severed from original sin, declaring that God viewed sin as ignorance;

he starts from below and continues upward to Christ instead of vice versa; his God was quite capable of imitation in a way which really flatters the ego. Yet his conception of the church was very Romanism, a strange attachment to this whole modernist system.

His strong point is the emphasis on perfection as the supreme end for all believers. This perfection was not a quantitative sinlessness; rather a qualitative direction and quality of life. Hence, his ethical emphasis was very great.

Mackintosh declares that the difference between Ritschl and Barth is in performance. Barth carries out the objectives of a theology while Ritschl does not. The reasons, our author affirms, are twofold: first, Ritschl has a rationalist moralism; and second—and most important!—his simple historical positivism fails to see the Alpha and Omega of Gospel truth, namely, its paradoxical form. Yet, the impact of this man on American Protestant liberalism was almost incalculable.

The final thinker in what might be called the liberal cycle is Ernst Troeltsch, father of the great Chicago school of American thought. This rests on one basic belief, that the key to religion is *origin*. Troeltsch, incidentally, had reacted against Ritschl, finding little help from history as he conceived it, wanting a scientific study of religion, wanting a psychology of religion and starting with the assumption that Christianity was a syncretic religion, an assumption very common among liberals and one, by the way which Mackintosh does not accept.

Simply in terms of method Mackintosh criticizes Troeltsch, quoting Goethe to the effect that "the artist is known by selection," and applying this insight to Troeltsch who had massive piles of material but not too well digested and organized.

Theologically there were two cornerstones in Troeltsch's system: (1) the real is the rational, thus trying to bring the Christian idea of God into harmony with the idealistic philosophy of the spirit; (2) general religion and not Christianity specifically is the answer. Thus there is no transcendence for God; no absolute in history.

Criticizing these views, Mackintosh points out that men like Troeltsch believe that history has no miracles or unique events, thus refusing to recognize such when they see them. Delivering a rather stinging rebuke, he writes, "When inspected more closely, indeed, it turns out to be a purely abstract treatment of its subject matter, as dogmatic in temper as the latest papal bull." (p. 204) Moreover, ". . . . not to know a thing can be is no proof that it has not been." Thus, "the insight of faith is neither *a priori* nor *empirical*. It is a faith in Christ." (p. 205)

Second Mackintosh argues, Christianity moves from God to man, making all humanity stand under grace. Troeltsch is thus Hellenic rather than Hebraic in his approach to grace. To say that Jesus is eternal but not *the* Eternal is the difference between the philosopher and the believer, saved by grace. Moreover, Troeltsch tends to reduce God to mere energy in a kind of Buddhistic Nirvana. This great German scholar ends as he begins, playing the one key that Christianity is not unique because the uniqueness cannot be proven. Mackintosh believes Christ is unique as the Saviour. Troeltsch does not believe it. The real difference, therefore, is faith. Meanwhile, the most permanent contribution of the scholar Troeltsch is not doctrinal or theological; rather, his monumental study of Christian ethical and social thought along with other similar studies.

Turning now to Kierkegaard, the book moves into an entirely different type of thought. For, Kierkegaard is the precursor of Barth, and Barth is

the precursor of Niebuhr, and Niebuhr is the No. 1 figure in American theology; hence, it brings us rather close to powerful current developments. This great Danish spirit was keenly described as an "extraordinary intelligence with a sick imagination." The experience of his whole family greatly influenced his Christian life, particularly the sins of his father which led quite directly to greater commitment for Christ. In attacking all utilitarian and anthropocentric religion, Kierkegaard has two assumptions: first, subjectivity or spiritual inwardness, declaring that personal Christianity without decision is nothing better than a phrase; second, an antiHegelian position which strongly poised him against speculation. He believed that relationship between God's holiness and God's love, between grace and responsibility, between time and Eternity, between God and man. Surely this contribution of the great Danish theologian is superb in view of the ultra-simple view of religious truth which has been only too common in liberal Protestantism. It is wholly beyond argument that the Gospel abounds in precisely this paradoxical form of truth; the difficulty comes when Christians seize upon one or the other side of the paradox failing to see the constant tension which exists between the polarities of the seemingly contradictory sides of the paradox. Kierkegaard's *Practice in Christianity* deals with this basic truth.

Pursuing Kierkegaard's thought further, one notes the three levels on which men live in Pilgrimage: the esthetic, the ethical and the religious. Then he points out that there is no final speculative answer since the truth is above reason but not opposed to or against reason. Thus how can one be a Christian? Well, first of all, always remember that our best as well as our worst needs divine pardon. "As Niebuhr would say, grace is power for righteousness and pardon for the failure of righteousness; thus being paradoxical." Kierkegaard has a very grave doctrine of sin which Mackintosh suggests may even smack of Manichaism. As long as this doctrine of sin does not swallow up the doctrine of sanctification, it is a magnificently sobering doctrine. In a piercing sentence, Kierkegaard writes, *"Take away the alarmed conscience and you may close the churches and turn them into dance halls."* (p. 238) Agony and suffering are given tremendous stress in the midst of a rather anti-church analysis of the religious situation as he warns the theologians that the only defense is attack. Throughout all this picture of our plight that is an almost absolute dualism between God and man—so much so that it justifies Mackintosh in saying that this is an anti-New Testament conception of otherness (p. 239); and in such direct terms that at one place God is called the absolutely unknown. The answer of the Bible is that ". . . . man is unlike God yet also like Him. The image of God in man is broken, yet not utterly . . . . God in His mysterious humility tends the last smoldering lamp in every rebellious heart." (p. 241) Therefore, man sins because he is a sinner; he is not a sinner because he sins.

Mackintosh believes that Kierkegaard has a questionable theory of the Incarnation in view of this otherness of God which destroys the direct revelation which one receives in the Incarnation. For, if the Incarnation does not bridge the gap between God and man, then the Gospel plan has radically miscarried. On the other hand, Kierkegaard always maintains a marvelous sense of wonder concerning the Gospel; the offence of the Cross is always clear and powerful; the Gospel is always provocative and challenging and dynamic; and, in all his stress on the otherness of God, Kierkegaard always stresses that "God watches over the sinner after the sinner forgets God," thus remaining susceptible to redemption. (p. 250)

By way of summary it is quite clear that Kierkegaard speaks to the condition of thousands of modern Christians. The emphasis upon God's

great transcendence, the emphasis on means of grace in living the Christian life, the terrific power and drama of Calvary, the paradoxical nature of the Gospel, the fact of sin, the reality of suffering, the criticism of the complacent modern church—all these are gains. But, new distortions are introduced: there is an overly radical individualism with an utter abandonment of the Christian approach to corporate evil; there is a new conflict introduced between the love of God as revealed in Christ and the *abstract* love of God: the conflict between the Incarnation and God's otherness. Granted these very definite distortions, Kierkegaard, on the whole, brings modern theology much closer to a true Biblical theology than liberalism could ever have achieved. It is a tribute to his vitality that many of his books are still read with eagerness, both as devotional literature and as theological analysis.

Finally, Mackintosh comes to Karl Barth whose works he calls "the most serious theological effort of this generation," the greatest attack on humanism in our time. This fine sentence from Mackintosh sets the stage for what is to follow. "To a humanism which understands itself, the ideas of God, sin, and death have lost all importance, except as symbols which proved of temporary advantage in the past." (p. 317). Incidentally, Niebuhr tends to put Christian truth in this symbolic form, not realizing that he is indulging in one of the worst vices of humanism!

Because of his highly temperamental nature, Barth's system is a changing system, not yet finished and, at times, somewhat contradictory because of this undercurrent of flux. It is, of course, a paradoxical system like Kierkegaard's in which the "yes" is interpreted by the "no"; the "no" by the "yes." In a sentence it could be called the theology of "the Word of God." This, in contrast with the modernist theology based on the word of man. Liberal Protestantism gives man's thoughts about God instead of God's thoughts about man. Here Barth is quite obviously in complete conflict with Schleiermacher. The task of theology is to scrutinize the church's proclamation, testing its agreement with Revelation. The Revelation comes through the Word of God, which is to be understood in three senses: the revealed Word, the Scriptural Word, the Word proclaimed by the church. The Revelation in Christ provides grace for sinners; there is no Revelation without Christ. In this opportunity for grace there is no place whatsoever for the detached spectator or even the anxious inquirer; it is an opportunity *only* for the Christian believer. (Barth's thought was originally quite eschatological, in it time is eventually replaced by Eternity. None of the non-orthodox thinkers has ever settled this issue in any clear and convincing fashion, despite their general friendliness with eschatological thought.)

In discussing the Incarnation and the Holy Spirit, Barth shows how completely modernistic thought misses the point of the Word of God *outside* of man. Modern man has found the truth *within* man and has often completely misunderstood the Kingdom of God in this connection. In reference to the Bible, Barth declares that God is not bound to the Bible, the Bible is bound to God. Yet, quite clearly, Barth's mind is dominated by the thought of God which emerges from the Bible. He believes, for example, that God's self-veiling and self-unveiling are very closely correlated; that God never permits us to see both aspects of a truth at the same time, an assertion which condemns the Christian to much darkness in connection with the paradoxical; he is totally opposed to a simple conception of the imminence of God. A keen description of much modern personality-building Protestantism is contained in this quotation, "To speak as advocates of immanentism do, as if the highest human life shades off into the Divine and God were the superlative of man, is to turn theology into psychology, and seek vainly to ward off contact with ultimate reality." (p. 298).

The doctrine of the Trinity is basic to Barth, Mackintosh raises the question whether Barth's God is removed from the world. Christ is, of course, a historical fact but not one which gains its character from the historical connections of the fact. The resurrection is the whole truth of Christianity, according to Barth; yet it is never clear just how important Christ is as a historical figure. As a matter of fact, the de-emphasizing of the humanity of Christ is quite common to all neo-orthodox thinkers. And, what is more important, this is not limited to Christ's humanity, since it often is extended to cover other important parts of His Lordship in what might well be called His divinity. The transcendence of God, the Father, is so great that the mediating role of Christ whether human or divine, is limited. Perhaps here is the basis on which neo-orthodoxy really cuts the nerve from any overly-direct application of Gospel ethics to the human situation, particularly in the collective.

Barth is critical of the church, declaring boldly that the church and not the world crucified Christ. Yet, in utter penitence, Barth goes on to affirm that he would not leave the church because in describing the condition of the church he is describing himself. What refreshing honesty! (Yet, what an un-Biblical view of corruption in the Church and what to do about it.)

Barth concludes with an attack on any theology which is occupied with the 'here' to the exclusion of the 'yonder.' In fact, any theology which does this is theology only in name. I liked Barth's concluding figure: "GOD IS NOW LIKE THE SUN SHINING BEHIND A CLOUD; WE SEE THE LIGHT BUT NOT THE SUN. ONE DAY WE WILL SEE BOTH." (p. 313) Thus, the mark of the Christian life is not assurance but hope.

Three criticisms of Barth are offered by Mackintosh. First, he is often betrayed by his temperamental character. More recently, his pronouncments on the war reveal his complete unreliability when dealing with an emotion-charged contemporary issue; second, he proposes as excessive actualism and static approach to a creation which does not stay created; third, (quoting Brunner) Barth really denies that man was created in God's own image. Brunner says that this image is not totally destroyed even in a sinner. Barth has a doctrine of total depravity which conflicts with both the Pauline sense of the split personality in the natural man and its most complete confirmation in modern psychiatry. In other words, Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde is the real state of the sinner. Barth would imply it is altogether Mr. Hyde.

It is my own conviction that Barth is the perfect example of Pascal's epigram that "in great men everything is great—their faults as well as their merits." The tremendous contribution of Barth, particularly to American theology, is beyond question. On the other hand, his errors are equally tremendous—to me the worst of them being his severing of the nerve from the warm, Gospel humanity of Christ, a humanity which gave us a clear picture of a Way of Life here and now while beckoning us on to the Heavenly realm where the redeemed shall live in resurrection glory. This void in Barth, as I have already suggested, has already betrayed him into some very questionable judgments concerning the war . . . . . So much for the great Reformed theologian.

This book of Mackintosh is tremendously significant for showing us the road we have traveled. Two of the most luminous figures in American theology may be said to symbolize the divisions of this survey: Harry Emerson Fosdick and Reinhold Niebuhr. Broadly speaking, Fosdick represents those preachers who constructed a theology from Schleiermacher, Ritschl

and the early German liberals, tempered by these re-interpretation in more strongly ethical terms by Walter Rauschenbusch. Strongly immanent, deeply sympathetic with modern science, optimistically girded in general, watering down the Biblical conceptions of sin and the Kingdom, possessing a real sense of the beautiful which has proved to be futile since worship lost its objective basis, ethically courageous but frightfully naive, peripherally related to a badly battered Bible, losing the paradoxical sense of Gospel truth —and much more could be added!—All this provides the backdrop for American preaching of the past twenty-five years. Not a unanimous front by any means, but surprisingly powerful. Whatever it was, this was *not* a Biblical theology.

Then Kierkegaard opens the wedge for the movement symbolized by Reinhold Niebuhr in this country and Karl Barth on the continent. Without any question it is much closer to a truly Biblical theology. In the first place, it consciously set out to do just this; and second, it achieved much in this direction. Salvation and the Kingdom as gifts from God, and the restoration or original sin, were the basic contributions of this whole school, placed as it was in the framework of the paradoxical. But in swinging from earthiness to Heavenliness it lost the glowing ethical power of Love, the Love of the Sermon on the Mount which it has tended to write off as an interim ethic. It lost the doctrine of sanctification in its eagerness to prove justification and pardon; it destroyed much of the power of the Incarnation and, in general, minimized the role of Jesus. Consequently, while much error has been routed and destroyed, a truly balanced Biblical theology awaits affirmation and development. It is not to be found in any "types of modern theology."

As a postscript on the work of Mackintosh as a writer, let it be said that he is a superb craftsman with a real genius for organizing material, writing with a glowing style and possessing a real sense of evangelical Christianity.

Princeton, N. J. Don E. Smucker.

Mennonites and Their Heritage: A Series of Six Studies Designed for Use in Civilian Public Service Camps. Edited by HAROLD S. BENDER. Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee. 1942. Average approximately 70 pages per study. 20 cents each.

When the Mennonite Church agreed to administer Civilian Public Service camps to which its conscientious objectors were to be sent, it confronted the task of providing guidance and enriching experiences for these men during those hours of the day when they were not busy with the work of national importance assigned to them. Since their presence in these camps was the result of conscientious objection to war, it was believed the young men would welcome the opportunity to restudy the basis of their convictions and to re-examine the history of the church that had brought their ideals to them.

The editor writes, "It is the need for convenient study material dealing with these convictions and commitments, as well as with the faith, life, work, and history of the church which has brought to its young people their worthy heritage of conscience, that has led to the preparation of this series of booklets. . . ."

When the studies appeared in 1942, there were almost 1000 Mennonite young men in the Civilian Public Service camps. By May, 1944, the number was approximately 2600, a much larger number than the total of

Mennonite young people ever enrolled at one time in the Mennonite colleges and academies of the United States. These booklets, therefore, because they have been studied by so large a number of the young people of the church, occupy a unique place in the history of education in the Mennonite Church.

The studies have been helpful not only to Mennonites who wish to review the basis of their faith and their history, but they also serve as an excellent means of introducing the Mennonites to other groups. Numbers I, II, and III are especially valuable for this purpose.

Number I, by Harold S. Bender, is entitled *Mennonite Origins in Europe*. In addition to presenting the beginnings of the denomination, the author gives a brief summary of European Mennonitism to 1940. A valuable table shows the geographic distribution of the 500,000 Mennonites in the world today. C. Henry Smith is the author of Number II, *Mennonites in America*. After tracing their migrations to America and describing their settlements, he shows the origins, peculiar emphases, and contributions of the various American branches of the denomination. A table lists the 1942 memberships in the United States and Canada.

Number III, *Our Mennonite Heritage,* by Edward Yoder, takes up the basic principles of the Mennonite faith, explaining the area in which there is agreement with other evangelical Protestant groups and clarifying the unique and original contributions of historic Mennonitism. Six of the twelve chapters are devoted to the "Nonresistant Heritage, Its Basis, Meaning, and Implication."

Number IV, *Our Mission as a Church of Christ,* by Ed. G. Kaufman, after tracing the missionary and relief efforts of the European Mennonites, takes up the missionary and charitable work of the American churches. The work of the various conferences in the field of education, publication, and relief is also considered.

Number V, *Christian Relationships to State and Community,* by Guy F. Hershberger, in its twelve chapters covers such topics as "What Does the Scripture Teach About the State?," "The Christian's Relation to the State," "True Patriotism," "Rural Life and the National Welfare," and "Conserving Our Natural Resources." A final chapter shows how Civilian Public Service offers a legal means for conscientious objectors to serve their country.

The final study, Number VI, *Life and Service in the Kingdom of God,* by P. C. Hiebert, devotes its first six chapters to "The Christian Life and Its Meaning" and the last six to "The Christian's Service in the Kingdom." The place of worship, prayer, and the Bible as means to victorious Christian living is clearly presented in the first division; the second part discusses the various opportunities for service confronting young people.

Although the series was written primarily for the men in C.P.S., it has been used widely in Sunday-school classes and young people's meetings. Written by six different writers and varying in style and quality, the six books, nevertheless, present a fairly complete picture of the Mennonites and their heritage. Every Mennonite home should have the set. It is hoped that the six studies will soon be combined into one handy volume.

Bethel College *Melvin Gingerich.*

Fifty Years in the Mennonite Church. By DANIEL KAUFFMAN. Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House. 1941. Pp. 92.

This little book by Daniel Kauffman should probably be classified as memoirs. It is not history, for it hardly has the objective style of a purely historical work. Again and again the historical incident is made the text for a brief exhortation or homily. It is not strictly autobiography, for only by implication is the author seen as having an important part in the events which he narrates. With his characteristic humility he has left himself out of his own story. Neither is the book a subject matter treatise, although it does, particularly in the later chapters, discuss various doctrinal concerns of the Mennonite Church. In a reminiscent mood our aged brother and respected leader thought back through the fifty years during which he had been a member of the Mennonite Church and recounted in brief outline, yet not without a great deal of illuminating detail, the story of what had happened to the church during that period. This story includes the account of his own conversion, a description of the Mennonite Church as it was in 1890, the story of the development of the various activities of the Mennonite Church during the ensuing half century, a statement of the religious controversies which vexed her, and a picture of present-day issues before the church.

The book secures its significance from the man who wrote it. For Daniel Kauffman was, during the period he describes, not merely an onlooker, but a vital influence and a prominent leader. The half century from 1890 on is a most significant period in the history of the Mennonite Church and it is here described by one who had a most significant part in it. From his own participation he was thoroughly qualified to recount and interpret the events which entered into his story. It would probably be correct to say that there was not a single important development in the Mennonite Church during the past half century in which Daniel Kauffman was not an active and influential figure. In connection with the missionary, educational, publishing, and conference activities, he lists the names of men who were active in their development. His own name ought to be in all those lists.

In style this little book is thoroughly characteristic of the most prolific of recent Mennonite writers. Always clear, always sedate, always kindly and fair in his statement, one who knew the man can hear his voice speak in every line. One sees his tendency to generalize and to point a moral. History is not merely a record of past events for this man; it is a story from which we may learn lessons for our present and future good. On the whole it was an encouraging story to him. He observes that the membership of the Mennonite Church increased during this period three hundred per cent. As he looks forward his view is encouraging, although he is cognizant of dangers which threaten the church. Always his attitude is charitable and broad.

His source of information is probably chiefly his memory, but also his diaries and the church publications. This reviewer was not able to detect any errors of fact, although he was suprised to see seventh-dayism listed as one of the religious controversies which had troubled the Mennonite Church during this period. It seems probable that this was not as important an issue during this period as the other questions listed.

One other book from the pen of Daniel Kauffman followed this one before his death in January, 1944. But *Fifty Years in the Mennonite*

Church may well be thought of as his concluding statement. After fifty years in the church of his choice his great work was nearly done. One of the reasons which influenced him to become a Christian in 1890 was his feeling of responsibility toward his son. He feared lest that boy should "grow up under godless influences . . . and his soul be lost forever." It happens that this reviewer held the restless hands of that son as many years later he passed through the death struggle to go to his eternal reward in glory. The father's hopes for his salvation were realized. His other great desire, to be of service to the church which he joined, was abundantly realized in the fifty-odd years which were given him to perform this task.

Goshen College *Paul Erb.*

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